

THE RESOURCES OF CALIFORNIA

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since the close of the civil war, whenever they have controlled the House of Representatives, hostile legislation has been attempted—never more conspicuously than in their principal measure at the late session of Congress.

The Tariff Question.

Revenue laws are in their very nature subject to frequent revision in order that they may be adapted to changes and modifications of trade. The Republican Party is not contending for the permanency of any particular statute. The issue between the two parties does not have reference to a specific law. It is far broader and far deeper. It involves a principle of wide application and he

date the local valuation used in the States for purposes of assessment, and that, as every one knows, differs widely from a complete exhibit of all the property.

In the Census of 1860, however, the work was done with great thoroughness—the distinction between "assessed" value and "true" value being carefully observed. The grand result was that the "true value" of all the property in the States and Territories (excluding slaves) amounted to fourteen thousand millions of dollars (\$14,000,000,000). This aggregate was the net result of the labor and the savings of all the people within the area of the United States from the time the first British colonist landed in 1607 down to the year 1860. It rep-

The period between 1860, and to-day, has not been one of material prosperity only. At no time in the history of the United States has there been such progress in the moral and philanthropic field. Religious and charitable institutions, schools, seminaries and colleges, have been founded and endowed far more generously than at any previous time in our history. Greater and more varied relief has been extended to human suffering, and the entire progress of the country in wealth, has been accompanied and dignified by a broadening and elevation of our national character as a people.

Our opponents find fault that our revenue system produces a surplus. But they should not forget that the law has given a specific purpose to



JAMES G. BLAINE, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE
FOR PRESIDENT.



JOHN A. LOGAN, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE
FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

HONORABLE JAMES G. BLAINE'S LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

Augusta, (Me.), July 15, 1884.

The Hon. John B. Henderson and others of the Committee, etc., etc.

GENTLEMEN: In accepting the nomination for the Presidency tendered me by the Republican National Convention, I beg to express a deep sense of the honor which is conferred, and of the duty which is imposed. I venture to accompany the acceptance with some observations upon the questions involved in the contest—questions whose settlement may affect the future of the Nation favorably or unfavorably for a long series of years.

In enumerating the issues upon which the Republican party appeals for popular support, the Convention has been singularly explicit and felicitous. It has properly given the leading position to the Industrial interests of the country as affected by the tariff on imports. On that question the two political parties are radically in conflict. Almost the first act of the Republicans, when they came into power in 1861, was the establishment of the principle of Protection to American labor and to American capital. This principle the Republican Party has ever since steadily maintained, while on the other hand the Democratic Party in Congress has for fifty years persistently warred upon it. Twice within that period our opponents have destroyed tariffs arranged for Protection, and

significant influence, against a theory which we believe to be unsound in conception and inevitably hurtful in practice. In the many tariff revisions which have been necessary for the past twenty-three years, or which may hereafter become necessary, the Republican Party has maintained and will maintain the policy of Protection to American Industry, while our opponents insist upon a revision which practically destroys that policy. The issue is thus distinct, well defined, and unavoidable. The pending election may determine the rate of Protection for a generation. The overthrow of the policy means a large and permanent reduction in the wages of the American laborer, besides involving the loss of vast amounts of American capital invested in manufacturing enterprises. The value of the present revenue system to the people of the United States is not a matter of theory, and I shall submit no argument to sustain it. I only invite attention to certain facts of official record which seem to constitute a demonstration.

In the Census of 1860, an effort was made, for the first time in our history, to obtain a valuation of all the property in the United States. The attempt was in a large degree unsuccessful. Partly from lack of time, partly from prejudice among many who thought the inquiries foreshadowed a scheme of taxation, the returns were incomplete and unsatisfactory. Little more was done than to consoli-

dated the fruit of the toil of two hundred and fifty years.

After 1860, the business of the country was encouraged and developed by a Protective tariff. At the end of twenty years the total property of the United States, as returned by the Census of 1880, amounted to the enormous aggregate of forty-four thousand million of dollars (\$44,000,000,000). This great result was attained, notwithstanding the fact that countless millions had, in the interval, been wasted in the progress of a bloody war. It thus appears that while our population between 1860, and 1880, increased 60 per cent., the aggregate property of the country increased 214 per cent.—showing a vastly enhanced wealth per capita among the people. Thirty thousand millions of dollars (\$30,000,000,000) had been added during these twenty years to the permanent wealth of the Nation.

These results are regarded by the older nations of the world as phenomenal. That our country should surmount the peril and cost of a gigantic war, and for an entire period of twenty years make an average gain to its wealth of one hundred and twenty-five million dollars per month, surpasses the experience of all other nations, ancient or modern. Even the opponents of the present revenue system do not pretend that, in the whole history of civilization, any parallel can be found to the material progress of the United States, since the accession of the Republican Party.

which all of the surplus is profitably and honorably applied—the reduction of the public debt and the consequent relief of the burden of taxation. No dollar has been wasted, and the only extravagance with which the party stands charged is the generous pensioning of soldiers, sailors, and their families—an extravagance which embodies the highest form of justice in the recognition and payment of a sacred debt. When reduction of taxation is to be made, the Republican Party can be trusted to accomplish it in such form as will most effectively aid in the industries of the Nation.

Our Foreign Commerce.

A frequent accusation by our opponents is that the foreign commerce of the country has steadily decayed under the influence of the Protective Tariff. In this way they seek to arraign the important interest against the Republican Party. It is a common and yet radical error to confound the commerce of the country with its carrying trade—an error often committed innocently and sometimes designedly, but an error so gross that it does not distinguish between the ship and cargo. Foreign commerce represents the exports and imports of a country, regardless of the nationality of the vessel that may carry the commodities of exchange. Our carrying trade has from obvious causes suffered many discouragements since 1860, but our foreign commerce has in the same period steadily and prodigiously increased—increased, indeed, at a rate

and to an amount which absolutely dwarf all previous developments of our trade beyond the sea. From 1860, to the present time, the foreign commerce of the United States (divided with approximate equality between exports and imports) reached the astounding aggregate of twenty-four thousand millions of dollars (\$24,000,000,000). The balance in this vast commerce inclined in our favor, but it would have been much larger if our trade with the countries of America elsewhere referred to, had been more wisely adjusted.

It is difficult even to appreciate the magnitude of our export trade since 1860 and we can gain a correct conception of it only by comparison with preceding results in the same field. The total exports from the United States, from the Declaration of Independence in 1776, down to the day of Lincoln's election in 1860, added to all that had previously been exported from the American Colonies from their original settlement, amounted to less than nine thousand millions of dollars (\$9,000,000,000). On the other hand, our exports from 1860, to the close of the last fiscal year exceed a twenty thousand millions of dollars (\$20,000,000,000)—the whole of it being the product of American labor. Evidently a Protective Tariff has not injured our export trade, when, under its influence, we exported in twenty-four years 40 per cent more than the total amount that had been exported in the entire previous history of American commerce. All the details, when analyzed, correspond with this gigantic result. The commercial cities of the Union never had such growth as they have enjoyed since 1860. Our chief emporium, the City of New York, with its dependencies, has within that period doubled her population and increased her wealth five-fold. During the same period the imports and exports which have entered and left her harbor are more than double in bulk and value the whole amount imported and exported by her between the settlement of the first Dutch Colony on the Island of Manhattan and the outbreak of the Civil War in 1860.

Agriculture and the Tariff.

The agricultural interest is by far the largest in the Nation, and is entitled in every adjustment of revenue laws to the first consideration. Any policy hostile to the fullest development of agriculture in the United States must be abandoned. Realizing this fact, the opponents of the present system of revenue have labored very earnestly to persuade the farmers of the United States that they are robbed by a protective tariff, and the effort is thus made to consolidate their vast influence in favor of free trade. But happily the farmers of America are intelligent and cannot be misled by sophistry when conclusive facts are before them. They see plainly that during the past twenty-four years wealth has not been acquired in one section or by one interest at the expense of another section or another interest. They see that the agricultural States have made even more rapid progress than the manufacturing States.

The farmers see that in 1860, Massachusetts and Illinois had about the same wealth—between eight and nine hundred million dollars each—and that in 1880, Massachusetts had advanced to twenty-six hundred millions, while Illinois had advanced to thirty-two hundred millions. They see that New Jersey and Iowa were just equal in population in 1860, and that in twenty years the wealth of New Jersey was increased by the sum of eight hundred and fifty millions of dollars, while the wealth of Iowa was increased by the sum of fifteen hundred millions. They see that the nine leading agricultural States of the West have grown so rapidly in prosperity that the aggregate addition to their wealth since 1860, is almost as great as the wealth of the entire country in that year. They see that the South, which is almost exclusively agricultural, has shared in the general prosperity, and that, having recovered from the loss and devastation of war, it has gained so rapidly that its total wealth is at least the equal of that which it possessed in 1860, exclusive of slaves.

In these extraordinary developments the farmers see the latent impulse of a home market, and they see that the financial and revenue system enacted since the Republican party came into power has established and constantly expanded the home market. They see that even in the case of wheat, which is our chief export, they have sold, in the average of the years since the close of the war three bushels at home to one they have sold abroad, and that in the case of corn the only other cereal which we export to any extent, one hundred bushels have been used at home to three and a half bushels exported. In some years the disparity has been so great that for every peck of corn exported one hundred bushels have been consumed in the home market. The farmers see that to the increasing competition from the grain fields of Russia, and from the distant plains of India, the growth of the home market becomes daily of greater consequence to them, and that its impairment would depreciate the value of every acre of tillable land in the Union.

Our Internal Commerce.

Such facts as these, touching the growth and consumption of cereals at home, give us some slight conception of the vastness of the internal

commerce of the United States. They suggest, also, that, in addition to the advantages which the American people enjoy from protection against foreign competition, they enjoy the advantages of absolute free trade over a larger area and with a greater population than any other nation. The internal commerce of our thirty-eight States and nine Territories is carried on without let or hindrance, without tax, detention or governmental interference of any kind whatever. It spreads freely over an area of three and a half million square miles—almost equal in extent to the whole continent of Europe. Its profits are enjoyed to-day by fifty-six millions of American freemen, and from this enjoyment no monopoly is created. According to Alexander Hamilton, when he discussed the same subject in 1790, "the internal competition which takes place does away with everything like monopoly, and by degrees reduces the price of articles to the minimum of a reasonable profit to the capital employed." It is impossible to point to a single monopoly in the United States that has been created or fostered by the industrial system which is upheld by the Republican party.

Compared with our foreign commerce these domestic exchanges are inconceivably great in amount—requiring merely as one instrumentality as large a mileage of railway as exists to-day in all the other nations of the world combined. These internal exchanges are estimated by the Statistical Bureau of the Treasury Department to be annually twenty times as great in amount as our foreign commerce. It is into this vast field of home trade—at once the creation and the heritage of the American people—that foreign nations are striving by every device to enter. It is into this field that the opponents of our present revenue system would freely admit the countries of Europe—countries into whose internal trade we could not reciprocally enter; countries in which we should be surrendering every advantage of trade; from which we should be gaining nothing in return.

Effect Upon the Mechanic and the Laborer.

A policy of this kind would be disastrous to the mechanic and workmen of the United States. Wages are unjustly reduced when an industrious man is not able by his earnings to live in comfort, educate his children, and lay by a sufficient amount for the necessities of age. The reduction of wages, inevitably consequent upon throwing our home market open to the world, would deprive them of the power to do this. It would prove a great calamity to our country. It would produce a conflict between the poor and the rich, and in the sorrowful degradation of labor would plant the seeds of public danger.

The Republican Party has steadily aimed to maintain just relations between labor and capital—guarding with care the rights of each. A conflict between the two has always led in the past, and will always lead in the future, to the injury of both. Labor is indispensable to the creation and profitable use of capital, and capital increases the efficiency and value of labor. Whoever arraye the one against the other is an enemy to both. That policy is wisest and best which harmonizes the two on the basis of absolute justice. The Republican Party has protected the free labor of America so that its compensation is larger than is realized in any other country. It has guarded our people against the unfair competition of contract labor from China, and may be called upon to prohibit the growth of a similar evil from Europe. It is obviously unfair in permit capitalists to make contracts for cheap labor in foreign countries to the hurt and disparagement of the labor of American citizens. Such a policy (like that which would leave the time and other conditions of home labor exclusively in the control of the employers) is injurious to all parties—not the least so to the unhappy persons who are made the subjects of the contract. The institutions of the United States rest upon the intelligence and virtue of all the people. Suffrage is made universal as a just weapon of self-protection to every citizen. It is not the interest of the Republic that any economic system should be adopted which involves the reduction of wages to the hard standard prevailing elsewhere. The Republican Party aims to elevate and dignify labor—not to degrade it.

As a substitute for the industrial system which, under Republican administrations has developed such extraordinary prosperity, our opponents offer a policy which is but a series of experiments upon our system of revenue—a policy whose end must be harm to our manufactures and greater harm to our labor. Experiment in the industrial and financial system is the country's greatest dread, as stability is its greatest boon. Even the uncertainty resulting from the recent tariff agitation in Congress has hurtfully affected the business of the entire country. Who can measure the harm to our ships and our homes, our farms and our commerce, if the uncertainty of perpetual tariff agitation is to be inflicted upon the country? We are in the midst of an abundant harvest; we are on the eve of a revival of general prosperity. Nothing stands in our way but the dread of a change in the industrial system which has wrought such wonders in the last twenty years, and which, with the power of increased capital, will work still

greater marvels of prosperity in the twenty years to come.

Our Foreign Policy.

Our foreign relations favor our domestic development. We are at peace with the world—at peace upon a sound basis with no unsettled questions of sufficient magnitude to embarrass or distract us. Happily removed by our geographical position from participation of interest in those questions of dynasty or boundary which so frequently disturb the peace of Europe, we are left to cultivate friendly relations with all, and are free from possible entanglements in the quarrels of any. The United States has no cause and no desire to engage in conflict with any power on earth, and we may rest in assured confidence that no power desires to attack the United States.

With the nations of the Western Hemisphere we should cultivate closer relations, and for our common prosperity and advancement we should invite them all to join with us in an agreement that, for the future, all international troubles in North and South America shall be adjusted by impartial arbitration, and not by arms. This project was part of the fixed policy of President Garfield's Administration, and it should, in my judgment, be renewed. Its accomplishment on this continent would favorably affect the nations beyond the sea, and thus powerfully contribute at no distant day to the universal acceptance of the philanthropic and Christian principle of arbitration. The effect even of suggesting it for the Spanish-American States has been most happy, and has increased the confidence of those people in our friendly disposition. It fell to my lot as Secretary of State, in June, 1881, to quiet apprehension in the Republic of Mexico by giving the assurance in an official dispatch that "there is not the faintest desire in the United States for territorial extension south of the Rio Grande. The boundaries of the two Republics have been established in conformity with the best jurisdictional interests of both. The line of demarcation is not merely conventional. It is more, it separates a Spanish-American people from a Saxon-American people. It divides one great nation from another with distinct and natural divinity."

We seek the conquest of peace. We desire to extend our commerce, and in an especial degree with our friends and neighbors on this continent. We have not improved our relations with Spanish America as wisely and persistently as we might have done. For more than a generation the sympathy of those countries has been allowed drift away from us. We should now make every effort to gain their friendship. Our trade with them is already large. During the last year our exchanges in the Western Hemisphere amounted to three hundred and fifty millions of dollars—nearly one-fourth of our entire foreign commerce. To those who may be disposed to underrate the value of our trade with the countries of North and South America, it may be well to state that their population is nearly or quite fifty millions—and that, in proportion to aggregate numbers, we import nearly double as much from them as we do from Europe. But the result of the whole American trade is in a high degree unsatisfactory. The imports during the past year exceeded two hundred and twenty-five millions, while the exports were less than one hundred and twenty-five millions—showing a balance against us of more than one hundred millions of dollars. But the money does not go to Spanish America. We send large sums in Europe, in coin or its equivalent, to pay European manufacturers for the goods which they send to Spanish America. We are but paymasters for this enormous amount annually to European factors—an amount which is a serious draft, in every financial depression, upon our resources of specie.

Cannot this condition of trade in great part be changed? Cannot the market for our products be greatly enlarged? We have made a beginning in our effort to improve our trade relations with Mexico, and we should not be content until similar and mutually advantageous arrangements have been successfully made with every nation of North and South America. While the great powers of Europe are steadily enlarging their colonial dominions in Asia and Africa, it is the especial province of this country to improve and expand its trade with the nations of America. No field promises so much. No field has been cultivated so little. Our foreign policy should be an American policy in its broadest and most comprehensive sense—a policy of peace, of friendship, of commercial enlargement.

Protection of American Citizens.

The name of American, which belongs to us in our national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism. Citizenship of the republic must be the panoply and safeguard of him who wears it. The American citizen, rich or poor, native or naturalized, white or colored, must everywhere walk secure in his personal and civil rights. The republic should never accept a lesser duty. It can never assume a nobler one, than the protection of the humblest man who owes it loyalty—protection at home, and protection which shall follow him abroad, into whatever land he may go upon a lawful errand.

The Southern States.

I recognize, not without regret, the necessity for speaking of two sections of our common country. But the regret diminishes when I see that the elements which separated them are fast disappearing. Prejudices have yielded and are yielding, while a growing cordiality warms the Southern and the Northern heart alike. Can any one doubt that between the sections confidence and esteem are today more marked than at any period in the sixty years preceding the election of President Lincoln? This is the result in part of time and in part of Republican principles applied under the favorable conditions of uniformity. It would be a great calamity to change these influences under which Southern commonwealths are learning to vindicate civil rights, and adapting themselves to the conditions of political tranquility and industrial progress. If there be occasional and violent outbreaks in the South against this peaceful progress, the public opinion of the country regards them as exceptional, and hopefully trusts that each will prove the last.

The South needs capital and occupation, not controversy. As much as any part of the North, the South needs the full protection of the revenue laws which the Republican party offers. Some of the Southern States have already entered upon a career of industrial development and prosperity. These, at least, should not lend their electoral votes to destroy their own future.

Any effort to unite the Southern States upon issues that grow out of the memories of the war will summate the Northern States to combine in the assertion of that nationality which was their inspiration in the civil struggle. And thus great energies which should be united in a common industrial development will be wasted in hurtful strife. The Democratic party shows itself a foe to Southern prosperity by always invoking and urging Southern political consolidation. Such a policy quenches the rising instinct of patriotism in the heart of the Southern youth; it revives and stimulates prejudice; it substitutes the spirit of barbaric vengeance for the love of peace, progress and harmony.

The Civil Service.

The general character of the civil service of the United States under all administrations has been honorable. In the one supreme test—the collection and disbursement of revenue—the record of fidelity has never been surpassed in any nation. With the almost fabulous sums which were received and paid during the late war, scrupulous integrity was the prevailing rule. Indeed, throughout that trying period, it can be said, to the honor of the American name, that unfaithfulness and dishonesty among civil officers were as rare as misconduct and cowardice on the field of battle.

The growth of the country has continually and necessarily enlarged the civil service, until now it includes a vast body of officers. Rules and methods of appointment which prevailed when the number was smaller have been found inefficient and impracticable, and earnest efforts have been made to separate the great mass of ministerial officers from partisan influence and personal control. Impartiality in the mode of appointment to be based on qualification, and security of tenure to be based on faithful discharge of duty, are the two ends to be accomplished. The public business will be aided by separating the legislative branch of the Government from all control of appointments, and the Executive Department will be relieved by subjecting appointments to fixed rules, and thus removing them from the caprice of favoritism. But there should be rigid observance of the law which gives in all cases of equal competency the preference to the soldiers who risked their lives in defence of the Union.

I entered Congress in 1863, and in a somewhat prolonged service I never found it expedient to request or recommend the removal of a civil officer except in four instances, and then for non-political reasons which were instantly conclusive with the appointing power. The officers in the district, appointed by Mr. Lincoln in 1861, upon the recommendation of my predecessor, served, as a rule, until death or resignation. I adopted at the beginning of my service the bat of competitive examination for appointments to West Point, and maintained it so long as I had the right by law to nominate a cadet. In the case of many officers I found that the present law, which arbitrarily limits the term of the commission, offered a constant temptation to changes, for more political reasons. I have publicly expressed the belief that the essential modification of that law would be in many respects advantageous.

My observation in the Department of State confirmed the conclusions of my legislative experience, and impressed me with the conviction that the rule of impartial appointment might with advantage be carried beyond any existing provision of the civil service law. It should be applied to appointments in the consular service. Consuls should be commercial sentinels—encircling the globe with watchfulness for their country's interests. Their intelligence and competency become

therefore, matters of great public concern. No man should be appointed to an American consulate who is not well instructed in the history and resources of his own country, and in the requirements and language of commerce in the country to which he is sent. The same rule should be applied even more rigidly to Secretaries of Legation in our diplomatic service. The people have the right to the most efficient agents in the discharge of public business, and the appointing power should regard this as the prior and interior consideration.

The Mormon Question.

Religious liberty is the right of every citizen of the Republic. Congress is forbidden by the Constitution to make any law "respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." For a century, under this guarantee, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, have worshipped God according to the dictates of conscience. But religious liberty must not be perverted to the justification of offenses against the law. A religious sect, strongly intrenched in one of the Territories of the Union, and spreading rapidly into four other Territories, claims the right to destroy the great safeguard and monument of social order, and to practice as a religious privilege that which is a crime punished with severe penalty in every State of the Union. The sacredness and unity of the family must be preserved as the foundation of all civil government, as the source of orderly administration, as the surest guarantee of moral purity.

The claim of the Mormons that they are divinely authorized to practice polygamy should no more be admitted than the claim of certain heathen tribes, if they should come among us, to continue the rite of human sacrifice. The law does not interfere with what a man believes; it takes cognizance only of what he does. As citizens, the Mormons are entitled to the same civil rights as others, and to these they must be confined. Polygamy can never receive national sanction or toleration by admitting the community that upholds it as a State in the Union. Like others, the Mormons must learn that the liberty of the individual ceases where the rights of society begin.

Our Currency.

The people of the United States, though often urged and tempted, have never seriously contemplated the reorganization of any other money than gold and silver—and currency directly convertible into them. They have not done so, they will not do so under any necessity less pressing than that of desperate war. The one special requisite for the completion of our monetary system is the fixing of the relative values of silver and gold. The large use of silver as the money of account among Asiatic nations, taken in connection with the increasing commerce of the world, gives the weightiest reasons for an international agreement in the premises. Our Government should not cease to urge this measure until a common standard of value shall be reached and established—a standard that shall enable the United States to use the silver from its mines as an auxiliary to gold in settling the balances of commercial exchange.

The Public Lands.

The strength of the Republic is increased by the multiplication of land-holders. Our laws should look to the judicious encouragement of actual settlers on the public domain, which should henceforth be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of those seeking homes. The tendency to consolidate large tracts of land in the ownership of individuals or corporations should, with proper regard to vested rights, be discouraged. One hundred thousand acres of land in the hands of one man is far less profitable to the Nation in every way than when its ownership is divided among one thousand men. The evil of permitting large tracts of the National domain to be consolidated and controlled by the few against the many is enhanced when the persons controlling it are aliens. It is but fair that the public land should be disposed of only to actual settlers, and to those who are citizens of the Republic or willing to become so.

Our Shipping Interests.

Among our National interests one language—the foreign carrying trade. It was very seriously crippled in our civil war, and another blow was given to it in the general substitution of steam for sail in ocean traffic. With a frontage on the two great oceans, with a freightage larger than that of any other nation, we have every inducement to restore our navigation. Yet the Government has hitherto refused its help. A small share of the encouragement given by the Government to railways and to manufacturers, and a small share of the capital and the zeal given by our citizens to those enterprises, would have carried our ships to every sea and to every port. A law just enacted removes some of the burdens upon our navigation and inspires hope that this great interest may at last receive its due share of attention. All efforts in this direction should receive encouragement.

Sacredness of the Ballot.

This survey of our condition as a Nation reminds us that material prosperity is but a mockery if it does not tend to preserve the liberty of the people

A free ballot is the safeguard of republican institutions, without which no national welfare is assured. A popular election, honestly conducted, embodies the very majesty of true government. Ten millions of voters desire to take part in the pending contest. The safety of the Republic rests upon the integrity of the ballot, upon the security of suffrage to the citizen. To deposit a fraudulent vote is no worse a crime against constitutional liberty than to obstruct the deposit of an honest vote. He who corrupts suffrage strikes at the very root of free government. He is the arch-enemy of the Republic. He forgets that in trampling upon the rights of others he fatally imperils his own rights. "It is a good land which the Lord our God doth give us," but we can maintain our heritage only by guarding with vigilance the source of popular power.

I am, with great respect,
Your obedient servant,
JAMES O. BLAINE.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL PLATFORM.

Unanimously Adopted at Chicago, June 5, 1884.

The Republicans of the United States, in Convention assembled, renew their allegiance to the principles upon which they have triumphed in six successive Presidential elections, and congratulate the American people on the attainment of so many results in legislation and administration by which the Republican Party has, after saving the Union, done so much to render its institutions just, equal, and beneficent—the safeguard of liberty and the embodiment of the best thought and highest purposes of our citizens. The Republican Party has gained its strength by quick and faithful response to the demands of the people for the freedom and the equality of all men; for a united nation assuring the rights of all citizens; for the elevation of labor; for an honest currency; for purity in legislation, and for integrity and accountability in all departments of the Government; and it accepts anew the duty of leading in the work of progress and reform.

We lament the death of President Garfield, whose sound Statesmanship, long conspicuous in Congress, gave promise of a strong and successful administration, a promise fully realized during the short period of his office as President of the United States. His distinguished success in war and in peace has endeared him to the hearts of the American people.

In the administration of President Arthur, we recognize a wise, conservative, and patriotic policy, under which the country has been blessed with remarkable prosperity, and we believe his eminent services are entitled to and will receive the hearty approval of every citizen. It is the first duty of a good government to protect the rights and promote the interests of its own people; the largest diversity of industry is most productive of general prosperity and of the comfort and independence of the people.

We, therefore, demand that the imposition of duties on foreign imports shall be made, not for "revenue only," but that, in raising the requisite revenues for the Government, such duties shall be levied as to afford security to our diversified industries and protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity.

Against the so-called economical system of the Democratic Party, which would degrade our labor to the foreign standard, we enter our earnest protest; the Democratic Party has failed completely to relieve the people of the burden of unnecessary taxation by a wise reduction of the surplus.

The Republican Party pledges itself to correct the inequalities of the tariff and to reduce the surplus, not by the vicious and indiscriminate process of horizontal reduction, but by such methods as will relieve the taxpayer without injuring the laborer or the great productive interests of the country.

We recognize the importance of sheep-husbandry in the United States, the serious depression which it is now experiencing and the danger threatening its future prosperity; and we, therefore, respect the demands of the representatives of this important agricultural interest for a readjustment of duty upon foreign wool in order that such industry shall have full and adequate protection.

We have always recommended the best money known to the civilized world, and we urge that an effort be made to unite all commercial nations in the establishment of the international standard, which shall fix, for all, the relative value of gold and silver coinage.

The regulation of commerce with foreign nations and between the States is one of the most important prerogatives of the General Government, and the Republican Party distinctly announces its purpose to support such legislation as will fully and efficiently carry out the constitutional power of Congress over interstate commerce. The principle of the public regulation of railway corporations is a wise and salutary one for the protection of all classes of the people, and we favor legislation that shall prevent unjust discrimination and excessive charges for transportation, and that shall secure to the people and to the railways alike, the fair and equal protection of the laws.

We favor the establishment of a national bureau of labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and a wise and judicious system of general education by adequate appropriation from the national revenues wherever the same is needed.

We believe that everywhere the protection to a citizen of American birth, must be accorded to citizens by American adoption, and we favor the settlement of national differences by international arbitration.

The Republican party, having its birth in a hatred of slave labor, and in a desire that all men may be free

and equal, is unalterably opposed to placing our workmen in competition with any form of servile labor, whether at home or abroad. In this spirit we denounce the importation of contract labor, whether from Europe or Asia, as an offense against the spirit of American institutions, and we pledge ourselves to sustain the present law restricting Chinese immigration, and to provide such further legislation as is necessary to carry out its purpose.

The reform of the civil service, unapologetically begun under Republican administration, should be completed by the further extension of the reform system already established by law—to all the grades of the service to which it is applicable. The spirit and purpose of the reform should be observed in all executive appointments, and all laws at variance with the objects of existing reformed legislation should be repealed, to the end that the dangers to free institutions which lurk in the power of official patronage may be wisely and effectively avoided.

The public lands are a heritage of the people of the United States, and should be preserved as far as possible for small holdings by actual settlers. We are opposed to the acquisition of large tracts of these lands by corporations or individuals, especially where such holdings are in the hands of non-resident aliens, and we will endeavor to obtain such legislation as will tend to correct this evil.

We demand of Congress the speedy forfeiture of all land grants which have lapsed by reason of non-compliance with acts of incorporation, in all cases where there has been no attempt in good faith to perform the conditions of such grants.

The grateful thanks of the American people are due to the Union soldiers and sailors of the late war, and the Republican Party stands pledged to suitable pensions to all who were disabled, and for the widows and orphans of those who died in the war. The Republican party pledges itself to the repeal of the limitation contained in the Arrears act of 1883, so that all invalid soldiers shall share alike, and their pensions shall begin with the date of disability or discharge and not with the date of application.

The Republican party favors a policy which shall keep us from entangling alliances with foreign nations, and which shall give the right to expect that foreign nations shall refrain from meddling in America, and the policy which seeks peace can trade with all powers, but especially with those of the Western Hemisphere.

We demand the restoration of our navy to its old-time strength and efficiency, that it may, in any sea, protect the rights of American citizens and the interests of American commerce, and we call upon Congress to remove the burdens under which American shipping has been depressed, so that it may again be true that we have a commerce which leaves no sea unexplored, and a navy which takes no law from superior force.

Resolved, That appointments by the President to offices in the Territories should be made from the bona fide citizens and residents of the Territories wherein they are to serve.

Resolved, That it is the duty of Congress to enact such laws as shall promptly and effectually suppress the system of polygamy within our territory, and divorce the political from the ecclesiastical power of the so-called Mormon Church, and that the law so enacted should be rigidly enforced by the civil authorities, if possible, and by the military if need be.

The people of the United States, in their organized capacity, constitute a Nation and not a mere confederacy of States. The National Government is supreme within the sphere of its national duty, but the States have reserved rights which should be faithfully maintained; each should be guarded with jealous care so that the harmony of our system of government may be preserved, and the Union kept inviolate.

The perpetuity of our institutions rests upon the maintenance of a free ballot, an honest count, and a correct return.

We denounce the fraud and violence practised by the Democratic party in Southern States, by which the will of the voter is defeated, as dangerous to the preservation of free institutions, and we solemnly arraign the Democratic party as being the guilty recipient of the fruit of such fraud and violence.

We extend to the Republicans of the South, regardless of their former party affiliations, our cordial sympathy, and pledge them our most earnest efforts to promote the passage of such legislation as will secure to every citizen, of whatever race and color, the full and complete recognition, possession, and exercise of all civil and political rights.

Dr. JUSTIN GATES, the Republican candidate for Supervisor of the First Ward, is a native of Rochester New York and an early pioneer. His company built the first steamboat which ran to Marysville. He began the practice of medicine in Sacramento in October, 1849, and with his brothers, established one of the largest drug houses on this coast. Dr. JUSTIN GATES was one of the few to organize the Republican party on this coast. He is a past president of the Sacramento Pioneers, has served two terms as director of the San Francisco Society of California Pioneers, and is identified with many other civic organizations.

Dr. JUSTIN GATES, if elected, will endeavor to serve his constituents honestly, faithfully, and economically, and to do his best to conduct the affairs of the city as he would his own personal business.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

That Free Trade means low wages and distress!

A DEMOCRATIC BLOW AT THE SOLDIERS OF THE UNION.

Section 354 of the Revised Statutes provides that no person shall serve on the Washington police force who has not served in, and been honorably discharged from, either the Army or Navy of the United States.

June 9th, 1880, in the Senate, pending the bill (S. 1394) to increase the police force of the District of Columbia, the following amendment was reported from the Committee on the District of Columbia:

"Sec. 2. That so much of section 354 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, relating to the District of Columbia, as requires that 'no person shall be appointed as policeman or watchman who has not served in the Army or Navy of the United States and received an honorable discharge, be, and the same is hereby, repealed.'"

The clause was agreed to by a vote of 25 yeas, nays 15—all the yeas being Democrats, and all the nays Republicans.

The proposition had originally passed the House. In the debate which ensued in the Senate the Republicans resisted the appeal on the ground that the time had not yet come when the Union soldier should be set aside for the Confederate soldier. But Mr. Beck insisted on the repeal, and announced the existing law excluded Confederates as the meanest vengeance towards a political opponent (meaning an ex-Confederate), or the lowest demagoguery; and it was practically announced as the future policy of the Democracy, in all matters of appointments, that the Confederates were to have at least an "equal chance."

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

That the American laborer is not a Serf! That the Republican Party is pledged to protect American laborer!

BLAINE'S REMARKS TO THE STUDENTS AT ANN HARBOR.

Mr. Blaine, in his remarks to the students of the University at Ann Harbor, Mich. October 18th, said: "Our college boys are taught—I was myself taught when I was a college boy—the doctrine of free trade; but the United States stands as a perpetual and irrefutable argument and example of the value in a new country of the doctrine of protection. I am glad to meet you, not merely as those interested in a political campaign, but as the young men who are the pride and hope of the country. In dealing with the great problem of the future in this marvellous experiment of a people governing themselves by free and universal suffrage, nothing can avail except our educated and constantly corrected public opinion. I wish to impress upon every man who has had the advantage of a university education, that he is every day more and more placed in debt to his country, and that just in proportion as he progresses in knowledge and wisdom, just in that proportion will he be expected to pay back in patriotic labor to the country which nurtured him. I congratulate you on being born to such a great opportunity, to a harvest that is ripe for the reaper, into a field that is continually expanding. You go forth, each of you, with just as good a chance in life as any other man has, and you go with the added opportunities which education gives. I commend to you your responsibilities, for the responsibilities of an educated American are higher, deeper and broader and greater than those of an educated man in any other land, and just in proportion as your opportunities are greater will you be held to account in this life and the life which is to come."

Mr. MORRISON, the author of the Morrison bill, was the Chairman of the Committee in the Democratic Convention who reported the platform on which Cleveland now stands. Nevertheless the country is asked to believe that the Democratic platform is not a free trade one. Too thin.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

That the weakest and most humble citizen is entitled to and shall receive the aid of the strong arm of the Government in protecting his civil rights!

"JAMES G. BLAINE is the standard bearer of protection to American labor. Grover Cleveland is the hope of the British free trade interests."—Patrick Ford.

A popular campaign song in Buffalo, begins thus: "O, father, dear father, come home with me now."

WILLIAM W. MORROW.

This gentleman, who, at a comparatively early age, has won an enviable place at the bar, is the Republican candidate of the Fourth District, for Congress, at the approaching election.

He was born July 15, 1843, in Wayne county, Indiana. He was a farmer's son, his father dying when William W. was nine years old, and leaving his family, consisting of the boy and his mother, in straitened circumstances. For some five years he worked on farms in Illinois, attending school in the winter months. He also managed to secure private instruction in modern languages, Latin, mathematics, and engineering, intending to follow the last-named pursuit as the business of his life. His ancestors, whom he can trace from six generations, went from Scotland to Ireland, where his father was born, and whence he emigrated to America in 1835. He (the elder Morrow) was a correspondent of the London Times, which position he surrendered to go to farming. He died in 1852.

After devoting a year to apprenticeship to a mechanical trade in Illinois, young Morrow removed to California, arriving in September, 1859. He settled in Santa Rosa and worked at his trade, resuming also his studies, to which he gave his evening hours. For a short period he taught school.

In April, 1862, when he was not quite eighteen, he went, with a party of young gold-hunting adventurers, from Santa Rosa to Oregon. Their objective point was the placer mining region of Idaho, but having lost their way and wandered for weeks through a rough and dangerous country, they brought up on Dry river, where they discovered rich placers. The news of their "find" brought a rush of miners, and Canyon City, where Joaquin Miller was County Judge, quickly sprang into being.

In the fall of 1861, Mr. Morrow returned with some "adul" to Santa Rosa, and in the following January, he went East, with the intention of entering some college, and taking a complete course of study. While visiting Washington he was appointed by Secretary Chase to a position in the Treasury Department, which he held for two years. He joined the National Rifles, and took part in army operations in and around Washington in 1863-4. In January, 1865, he was by Mr. Fessenden, then Secretary of the Treasury, appointed

A Special Agent of the Treasury Department, and in that capacity brought to San Francisco a shipment of \$5,000,000. Having passed his 21st year, he abandoned the idea of a collegiate education, and determined to remain in California. For four years thereafter he was employed in various capacities in the Treasury and Internal Revenue Departments in San Francisco. During this period he gave his spare hours to the study of law, which he had commenced in Washington. He was admitted to the bar of the Supreme Court of this State in 1869.

He was very soon called into official life. In 1870, Hon. L. D. Latimer, United States District Attorney for California, appointed him his assistant, which post he held during Mr. Latimer's term of four years. The two gentlemen had met years before at Santa Rosa, and had become firm friends. They have been associated in business during the whole of Mr. Morrow's professional life, having formed a private law partnership when they walked out together, arm in arm, from the office of the United States District Attorney.

During Mr. Morrow's connection with the latter office there was tried the "Sunrise" cases, in which a sea captain and his two mates were convicted of numerous acts of cruelty to their sailors. The circumstances of those cases are still fresh in the public mind.

The Case of Salvador.

Passing by a great number of important trials, civil and criminal, with which Mr. Morrow has been connected, it may be of interest to state the case of the murderer Salvador.

On the 19th of April, 1879, Paul Rieger, a well-known and respected San Francisco merchant, visited Marin county seeking rest and recreation, which he expected to find, as he had many times before, in a few days' fishing along the quiet banks of Paper Mill creek. He left the narrow-gauge road at Tocaloma station, and proceeded down the creek. This was about noon of the day he left San Francisco, and was the last time he was seen alive. As he did not return home on the following Monday, as he had appointed, his family and friends became alarmed, and a search along Paper Mill creek and adjacent country was commenced at once. On April 26th, his body was found partially concealed in the bushes not far from Garcia station. The body showed that Rieger had been shot

five times from behind. His pants were missing. A pair was found not far from the body, but they were not Rieger's.

A motive for the murder seemed to be wanting. Rieger had no enemies, and as he had but little of value on his person, there seemed to be no cause for such a brutal and cold-blooded assassination. A half-breed Indian, named Galindo, was soon after arrested for the murder on some slight clue, but was discharged for want of evidence.

Another half-breed, named Salvador, was suspected of the crime. He had grown up in the county, and had been in many scrapes, but was so cunning and skillful in all his maneuvers, that he had so far escaped punishment. He had become a terror to the whole country, and naturally was suspected of this crime. Search was commenced for him, but he could not be found in any of his old haunts, nor could his people be induced to give any definite information concerning his probable whereabouts.

About the 17th of May, Sheriff Dinwiddle, of Sonoma, got track of him in that county, and succeeded in effecting his capture near Sebastopol. At the time of his capture Salvador had on a pair of pants, which were subsequently identified as resembling those worn by Rieger when he left San Francisco, but as the cloth was of a common pattern, it appeared at first to be difficult to make the identification complete and

counsel for the State made it clear and conclusive. Mr. Morrow made the opening speech to the jury. Judge Hansen made an elaborate defense, and Judge Bowers closed for the prosecution. The jury found the defendant guilty of murder. Judge Temple sentenced him to be hanged, and the sentence was duly executed by Sheriff Tunstead.

Prior to Salvador's execution he admitted his guilt, and confessed to a long catalogue of crimes, many of which had been a mystery until then.

Various Notes.

In 1879, Mr. Morrow was unanimously nominated by his party for State Senator from the Ninth district, but was defeated by a few votes. The district was and is opposed to him politically. In 1878, he ran on the Non-partisan ticket for Delegate to the Constitutional Convention, and with his whole local ticket met defeat by the Workingmen's rush-room party. In 1879, he was chosen Chairman of the Republican State Central Committee, a place which he held for some two years, evincing marked executive ability.

He married in 1865, at Santa Rosa, Miss Maggle Hulbert, daughter of a Methodist clergyman of that place, and has two sons and a daughter.

Mr. Morrow is, and has been for some time, the regular counsel for the Board of State Harbor Commissioners, a position of grave responsibility, the litigation on the part of the State



HON. WILLIAM W. MORROW, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR CONGRESS, IN THE FOURTH DISTRICT.

satisfactory. On the evidence, such as it was, the Grand Jury indicted Salvador for murder.

The case was tried before Judge Temple, at San Rafael. Hon. T. J. Bowers, the present Superior Judge, was District Attorney. Mr. Morrow assisted in the prosecution, while Judge Hansen defended Salvador. The case excited a great deal of interest, and attracted a large crowd to the court. In presenting the case for the prosecution, it was shown that the pants worn by the defendant, at the time of his arrest, had a button on the waistband differing from all the others in color and pattern. This odd button, Mrs. Rieger identified as one that she had sewed on her husband's pants some time prior to the day he went fishing. She also identified the thread in the button.

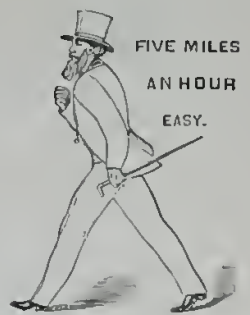
The defendant, when he was arrested, was interrogated by the Sheriff as to where he obtained his pants. He claimed to have purchased them of a merchant in Petaluma. In this he was contradicted by the testimony of the merchant. The pants found near Rieger's body were shown to be the same color as those worn by Salvador a short time prior to the murder.

There was evidence tending to show that Salvador was in the neighborhood at the time of the murder, and that he had a pistol. The chain of circumstantial evidence against the defendant did not appear strong, as delivered from the witness stand, but the argument of the

affecting the harbor and water front being all under his direction.

He sometimes appears "in public on the stage," outside of the courtroom. Conspicuous among his triumphs in this line may be mentioned his address at the opening of the Sixteenth Industrial Exhibition of the Mechanics' Institute, in this city, August, 1881. This address has been widely distributed, and is an enduring memorial of his industry, research, strong common sense and practical mind.

Mr. Morrow is a man of large stature, superb, shrewd frame, and robust health. He is scrupulously neat in dress, methodical in his plans and habits, simple in his tastes, and stainless in his private life. His personal acquaintance is very extended, and he enjoys popularity to a degree of which few men can boast. In preparing and trying a case he is painstaking, patient and thorough; in argument, plausible and full; in speech, terse and correct. He invariably wins the respect of court and jury. For the sincerity of his motives is always conspicuous. He rarely takes up the weapons of wit, invective or satire, but speaks forth the words of truth and soberness effectively, and to the point. His "staying" qualities are good, and when occasion calls for the effort he can hold the floor, and show his right to it, for hours at a time, as in the case of Salvador. He is entirely void of affectation, eschews capriciousness, and never attempts to make a "stirge." He is a plain, prudent, earnest, resolute man, a fine type of American character—sans peur et sans reproche.

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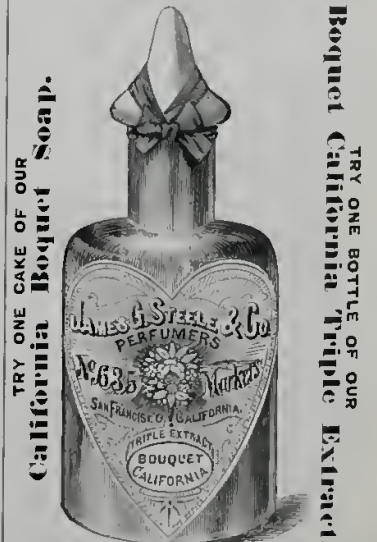
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THE AMERICAN PROTECTIVE POLICY.

SPEECH OF HON. IRVING M. SCOTT,
Thursday, September 25th, at Quincy Hall,
Before the Plumed Knights.

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES, AND PLUMED KNIGHTS:
My purpose this evening is to discuss principles, not men, farther than representatives of those principles.

James G. Blaine

I shall, therefore, pronounce no eulogy upon James G. Blaine, the Republican nominee for the Presidency of the United States. He needs none. The world knows his history by heart. There it is! Behold it written in letters of living light, enduring as time itself, written far up, above, beyond the reach of partisan strife and calumny. Written in that great volume of immortality where are recorded the bright and glorious deeds of Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Clay, Webster, Lincoln and Garfield. Chaste, wise, learned, vigilant and discreet, energetic, strong and fearless in asserting and maintaining right, James G. Blaine, the Plumed Knight, boldly stands out, port erect, foremost in American statesmanship, foremost in the defense and advancement of his country's cause; foremost in the championship of American free and well-requited labor, American industries, American institutions, American liberty and honor, at home and abroad.

John A. Logan

Nor can aught that friend or foe may add to, or take a single ray of light and beauty from the bright fame of General John A. Logan, the Republican nominee for the Vice-Presidency of the United States.

The records of the deeds of the "Black Knight" are plain and indelible. They are written on many a tough and stolid battle-field, on the pages of sound statesmanship, on the monuments of national glory, and in the hearts of his countrymen. Aye, they are written with the blood of a true patriot.

Democracy.

On the other side, lo, what a picture! Indeed, personal abuse, detraction and defamation of character seem to be the chief weapons employed by the representatives of the Democratic party. I will not name of them, but turn with disgust and loathing from all their vile misrepresentations, from all their stabs and slanders with respect to the most honorable and magnanimous of political opponents; slanders fully refuted and nailed as such years ago; from all their newly concocted defamations, too, with respect to his pure, virtuous and christian family. Indeed, so insatiable seems the lust of representatives of the Democratic party to slander, it is to be hoped for the honor of Americans and the good of public morals, that their fearful onslaught on the character of their own nominee for the highest office in the gift of the people, is but a Democratic slander after all.

Grover Cleveland.

As to that, having no taste, no inclination, to meddle with the family affairs of others, I cheerfully leave the vindication of the character of Grover Cleveland, Democratic nominee for the Presidency of the United States, to his friends; to the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, whose great experience in the "errors" of the flesh would seem to fit him eminently for the task; to the worthy masters of Wood and Oakley Hall; to the notorious fargers of the Morey letter, and if perchance he shall be found too unchaste for their support may God have mercy on his soul!

Thomas A. Hendricks.

I leave, too, as the case may be, the defense of our limitation of the record and political character of Thomas A. Hendricks, Democratic nominee for the Vice Presidency of the United States, to the same investigating committee, together with that of the more intrepid and chivalrous school of nullification and rebellion.

If they shall find that he did not strike with traitorous and would-be matricidal hand his mother country when she was bleeding and torn with civil strife, then let them make known his filial love and dutifulness so that, her mind shall be reassured, for she surely thought then, and thinks now, that he struck her many a hard blow in her sore distress.

So much for the men; the candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency are now before you; your suffrages are sought to determine on whose banner victory shall perch.

Protection.

Shall the American protective policy or shall the foreign protective policy during the next four years, obtain in this land, converted to free labor and to freedom?

American Labor.

Shall American labor work for its own honor, dignity, gain, prosperity and independence, or shall it work to forge chains with which to bind itself hand and foot? Shall it work to pay tribute to foreign nations, to pay their taxes, to support

their profligate, haughty and oppressive monarchies and aristocracies, to fill their treasuries and vaults to repletion, and thereby degrade itself to servile dependence?

That is the vital question for your consideration and solution.

James G. Blaine and John A. Logan, as exponents of the Republican party, boldly and manfully speak right out just what they mean in plain, matter-of-fact terms.

Protection.

Protection to all that is American, protection to American labor, American industries, American institutions, American commerce, American honor and American citizens on every sea and in every land flamed by the heavens.

Grover Cleveland and Thomas A. Hendricks, as exponents of the Democratic party, speak in ambiguous, evasive, equivocal terms, in a sort of legerdemain dialect, as "now you see it, now you don't."

Free trade and quasi protection, protection and quasi free trade, "as you like it."

But since they venture to declare in favor of what they are pleased to call the "time honored principles of Democracy," we propose to hold them as responsible endorsers of free trade, for that, since the days of President Jackson, has been the talisman, the *ne plus ultra* of the Democratic party.

And now let us fairly and impartially consider the two policies, the American protective policy, espoused by the Republican party on one side, and the free trade policy, advocated by the Democratic party on the other side.

The American Protective Policy.

The American protective policy is older than the Constitution of the United States. Its principles were advocated by our American progenitors long prior to the Declaration of Independence, and, in fact, that great charter of civil and political rights is but the enunciation of those principles. England, by her aggressions, had warred upon the civil, political and commercial rights of her American colonies until human endurance could bear no more. The colonies rose, declared their independence, and fought out the Revolution begun in 1776, with victory, by freedom. They won much, but not all. They gained their nominal but not real independence of the mother country.

British Policy.

Nor have their descendants fully gained it; the Colonial policy of Great Britain still holds us in thralldom. The British Government, British statesman from first to last have worked to this end, and boast of their success. Thus, Lord Chatham, said in Parliament: "I would not have Americans make a hub-nail." Another noble lord retorted: "Nor a razor to shave their beards." Lord Brougham said: "It was well worth while by excessive exports to stifle in the cradle the rising manufactures in the United States." Mr. Robertson said, in the House of Commons: "That the British policy was nothing more or less than for the English to get a monopoly of all markets for their manufactures, and prevent other nations, one and all, from engaging in them." The *London Spectator*, in 1843, said: "In all economical relations, the United States still stand to England in the relation of colony to mother country."

Mr. Lowe, a British author, says: "It is now about forty years since the United States of America were definitively separated from England, and since their situation has afforded a proof that the benefit of mercantile intercourse may be retained in all its extent without the care of governing or the expense of defending those once regarded provinces."

Free trade gives to England the American market on terms more favorable than if the United States were a British Colony. England could not legislate better for herself than the free trade policy of the Democratic party, when in power, has done. English statesmen know it, and boast of it. But pernicious as the free trade policy is to American interests, and humiliating as it is to American pride, the herdsmen seems to brand his cattle not more legibly than British ingenuity burns its free trade mark into the body of the Democratic party.

It is plain as day why the richer classes of society should favor the importation of costly furbies and expensive luxuries free of duties; but that the rank and file of society, laboring for wages, should favor duty free imports of foreign goods, manufactured by cheap pauper labor, to compete with their own manufactures and thereby force upon themselves a reduction of their own wages, certainly seems a suicidal act of insanity. English statesmen gave us greater credit for sagacity than to be caught by a hook so ill concealed. A member of the British Parliament said: "It was idle for the English to endeavor to persuade other nations to join with them in adopting the principles of what was called free trade. Other nations knew as well as the wretched bird opposite, and those who acted with him, what the English meant by free

trade—was nothing more nor less than by means of the great advantages they enjoyed to get a monopoly of all their markets for English manufactures, and prevent them, one and all, from ever becoming manufacturing nations."

Constitution of the United States.

Turning now to the Constitution of the United States, we find Article I, Section 8, provides that Congress shall have power "to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; to regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several States. How could the American protective policy be more clearly enunciated? "Lay and collect duties, imposts, and provide for the general welfare." Had the framers of that great masterpiece of all time and the people who "ordained and established" it as the fundamental law of the land intended to restrict the laying and collecting of duties "for revenue only," they would have said so, and would not have said, "for the general welfare."

Madison.

Mr. Madison, who subsequently became President, at an early period in the history of American policy, declared that "a failure of the Federal Government" to lay and collect imposts on foreign fabrics imported into this country would be a "fraud" upon the Northern States; holding that they stripped themselves, by means of the Federal Constitution, of all power to protect their own manufactures. That great statesman had naught to say about "revenue only," but evidently meant just what he said, protection to "Northern manufactures;" that it would be a "fraud" for the Federal Government not to exercise that power vested in it; not to execute, as a duty, that great trust reposed in it of protecting American industry, regardless of revenue. Protection, not revenue, was the subject for consideration. Had other than the North been manufacturing States, he would doubtless have included them, for he knew "no North, no South, no East, no West, but the country, the whole country."

Madison said a failure to execute the sacred trust would be a fraud.

Modern Democracy bellows like a sea-lion, it would be a fraud to execute it.

Which is right, Madison supported by the Constitution, or modern Democracy propped up by the pro-British crutches of free trade?

Madison, say I, what say you?

Andrew Jackson.

With respect to the powers of Congress to legislate on this matter there can be no question. President Jackson says: "This indispensable power surrendered by the States, must be within the scope of authority on the subject expressly delegated to Congress. In this conclusion I am confirmed as well by the opinions of Presidents Washington, Jefferson, Madison and Monroe, who have each repeatedly recommended this right under the Constitution, as by the uniform practice of Congress, the continued acquiescence of the States and the general understanding of the people;" and with respect to the duties of Congress, the following quotations of the opinions of some of our ablest statesmen are adduced:

Washington

Says: "I cannot forbear intimating to Congress the expediency of giving effectual encouragement, as well to the introduction of new and useful inventions from abroad, as to the exertions of skill and genius of producing them at home. Congress has repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures; the object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible."

Jefferson

Says: "To cultivate peace and maintain commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises, to foster our fisheries as nurseries of navigation and for the nurture of man, and to protect the manufactures adapted to our circumstances—these fellow-citizens are the landmarks by which to guide ourselves in all proceedings."

"The establishments (manufacturing) formed and forming, will, under the auspices of cheaper materials and subsistences, the freedom of labor from taxation with us, and of protecting duties and prohibition become permanent."

"The great inquiry now is, shall we make our own comforts or go without them at the will of a foreign nation?"

"He, therefore, who is now against manufactures, must be far reducing us either to a dependence upon that nation, or be clothed in skins, and live like beasts in dens and caverns. I am proud to say that I am not one of these. Experience has taught me that manufacturers are now as necessary to our independence, as to our comfort."

Madison

Says: "It will be worthy of the provident care of Congress to make such future alteration in the

laws of the land, as will more especially protect and foster the several branches of manufacture, which have been recently instituted or extended by the insupportable exertions of our citizens. There is no subject which can enter with greater force and merit into the deliberations of Congress, than a consideration of the means to pursue and promote the manufactures which have sprung into existence, and attained unparalleled maturity throughout the United States during the period of the European wars. This source of national independence and wealth I anxiously recommend to the prompt and constant guardianship of Congress."

Monroe

Says: "Our manufacturers will require the systematic and fostering care of government. Possessing, as we do, all the raw materials, the fruit of our own soil and industry, we ought not to depend, in the degree we have done, on supplies from other countries. Equally important is it to provide at home, a market for our raw materials, as by extending the competition it will enhance the price and protect the cultivation against the casualties incident to foreign markets."

John Quincy Adams

Says: "The great interests of our agricultural, commercial and manufacturing nation are so linked in union together, that no permanent cause of prosperity to one of them can operate without extending its influence to the others. All these are alike under the protecting power of legislative authority and the duties of the representative bodies are to conciliate them in harmony together."

Gen. Jackson.

Writing in 1824, four years prior to his election to the Presidency, says: "We have been too long subject to the policy of British merchants. It is time we should become a little more Americanized, and instead of feeling pampers and laborers of England, feel our own, or else in a short time by continuing our present policy we shall be pampers ourselves. It is, therefore, my opinion that a careful and judicious tariff is much wanted to pay our national debt, and to afford us the means of that defense within ourselves on which the safety of our country and liberties depends. And last, though not least, give a proper distribution of our labor, which must prove beneficial to the happiness, wealth and independence of the community." General Jackson, at that time, seemed not behold the foremost in the advocacy of the American protective policy. He, then, impelled by his ardent nature on seeing his country in debt and distress, urged with his whole force of character what with felicity he called a "judicious tariff," something more than the tariff of 1816, or even that of 1824. Those tariffs were too tame to meet the views of Old Hickory on American protection. It was a sad event, and for which there seems no good reason, when President Jackson apostatized from that faith and espoused instead that evil genius Free Trade, whose baneful influence he so plainly saw and eloquently described in 1824. I choose to believe that his implacable hostility to Mr. Clay, the great apostle of the American protective policy, was not the cause of his apostasy, but what a man of iron will and inflamed passions will sometimes do, to defeat a great rival, set reason at naught and conjecture at defiance. The record at best shows his course erratic. He first espouses the cause of the American protective policy, as advocated by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe and John Quincy Adams, and then not only forsakes but vengefully wars upon that cause without deigning a word of explanation.

Jefferson Democrats and Jackson Democrats.

Now, when I hear men proclaiming themselves Jefferson Democrats, and at the same time Jackson Democrats, I am at a loss to comprehend their meaning, if such they have, unless they refer to Jackson as he stood in 1824—if that is their meaning, then they are in favor of the American protective policy, and opposed to the British colonial system, or so-called free trade system. If they mean President Jackson, the great champion of free trade, then they cannot be Jefferson Democrats. For the policy of Jefferson and President Jackson were at antipodes.

Thomas Jefferson.

So true is this, that were Thomas Jefferson to wake from his repose and behold the blight wrought by that Utopian, rather *bahon-upan* policy, inaugurated by President Jackson, to behold the debts, financial embarrassment and distress of the country, the fireless forge and furnace, the motionless spindle and loom, the furled sails, and unfurled mouths of all, dependent upon the industries, and the foreign aspect of the people clad in imported fabrics, he would more heaven and earth to amend the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States by adding thereto: Down, down with free trade, now and forever.

But let not our reverence for the opinions of the fathers of our liberties, adverse to free trade, or in other words, in favor of protecting our industries by law, make us forget our purpose of rigidly and fairly investigating the subject for ourselves.

The theory of free trade, is chiefly based by its advocates on these four abstract propositions, which we now propose to consider with the view of determining their true significance and worth.

First Proposition.

"The highest right of property is the right to exchange it for other property." We answer: Is this true? Is not the highest right of property tantamount to that of an individual, the right of protection? And further, is it not a maxim of law that "one shall so use his own property as not to injure another?" We illustrate:

A has money property.

B, his fellow-citizen, has white labor property in his energies and will to work.

C has cheap Chinese labor property.

Now I submit that A, has no right in equity to exchange his money property for the Chinese cheap labor property of C, to the injury of the white labor property of B. The passage of the Chinese restriction law, which the Democrats are so anxious to father, is a full endorsement of this view. Now, what is true with respect to the rights of labor as property, is also true with respect to the rights of every other species of property.

Second Proposition.

"Any system of law which declares that A, a citizen, may trade on equal terms with B, a citizen, but shall not, on equally favorable terms, trade with C, who lives in another country, reaffirms in effect the principle of slavery." We answer, that the rights of community are paramount to those of an individual; that the citizens A and B have, in addition to their individual interest, a community interest, in which C has no part or share. A and B, exchanging in trade with each other products differing in kind, so as to meet the wants of each, not only benefit their individual interests, but also their community interests, which would not be benefited were either, to the exclusion of the other, trade with C. Therefore, if either trade with C, the trade to be equally ought to be so made, that something shall insure to the community interest of A and B, and this something is termed duties on the foreign goods of C; that is, at the beginning, the relation of A and B, is not equal to the relation of A to C, or to that of B to C. Now, an equality between these relations must be established, before the free-trade system, contemplated in the proposition under consideration, can be equally effectual. But the establishing of that equality destroys, as shown, the free-trade system—root and branch. Hence, we conclude that Proposition No. 2, is defective and sophistical.

Third Proposition.

"The governed results for which all men labor, is to increase the abundance or diminish the scarcity of those things which are essential to their subsistence, comfort and happiness." We answer, that increasing the abundance or diminishing the scarcity of the essentials contemplated, is a consideration of secondary importance to that of ability to buy them, abundant or scarce in quantity, high or low in price. Ability to buy, regardless of cost, is the first and chief requisite.

For illustration: Ireland, in times of her worst famines, had abundance of food raised on her own soil, rich in fertility. Abundant food! But it was withheld from her starving sons and daughters, because they had not the requisite with which to buy. In all her untold miseries, abundant food for millions, raised by Irish labor on Irish soil, was being exported, cargo after cargo, from that distracted island. And so, it is well authenticated, that on the highways, hurrying roads of export food to replete the granaries and storehouses of Anglo-Irish landlords, met hurrying loads of import food sent, without stint, to off to those inhuman extortions—sent as a sacred offering to the filial Irish heart and American sympathy to hush the cries of hunger and resolute famine-stricken Erin. The Colonial policy, in its greatest severity and injustice, or, in other words, the English free-trade policy, as defined by British statesmen, had stifled manufacturers in Ireland, and thereby prevented the Irish people from securing, by means of their labor, the requisite with which to buy bread, the requisite with which to buy food, raiment and shelter. And that has been from first to last the cause of famine in Ireland. Sons of Erin, in presence of the "Great Author of Truth," I appeal to you, as men of truth, to say whether or not this is the truth.

This being the truth, it follows that increasing the abundance, or diminishing the scarcity of the essentials contemplated, is not the general results for which men labor, but the ability to buy them, abundant or scarce, high or low.

Further, were the given proposition true in the abstract, there is nothing in it by which it can be deduced that foreign imports through free trade,

would be the proper means to employ. On this point Joshua Gee, a British writer of great force and clearness, says: "The surest way for a nation to increase in riches, is to prevent the importation of such foreign commodities as may be raised at home."

Proposition Fourth.

"Any increase in the price of domestic products, consequent on the imposition of taxes on the import of corresponding products of foreign origin, is paid by the domestic consumers."

We answer, that this proposition is partial and sophistical, in that it is limited to the consideration of the consumer paying the import tax, as if that was all. Whereas, in fact, the consumer not only pays the import tax, but all the taxes which have in any manner, directly or indirectly, been added to the essential cost of producing the article of his consumption. It is well authenticated that the excise and other taxes entering into the cost of the exports of Great Britain, are more than double the essential or original cost of that export. These taxes, as excise and so on, going into the English treasury to support royalty, aristocracy and church of state, are paid by the consumer of those exports from England. And no sophistry of either the pensioned British writers-up of free trade, or their great devotee the Democratic Party, can disguise or gild this fact. You and I, and all of us consumers of foreign exports, or in other words American imports, pay not only the original value of those imports, but all the taxes that have been imposed upon them.

Money Paid on Imports.

The money paid by us as duties on imports goes into the treasury of our country, inures to the benefit of our country, it benefits you and me, our children and us all; on the other hand, the money paid by us in form of excise and other foreign taxes which have entered into the cost of those imports, goes into the treasury of the foreign country whence they came, inures to the benefit of our competitors, to the disparagement of American Labor and American Industries.

Lord Brougham.

With respect to English taxes Lord Brougham says: "Taxes on every article that enters the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the foot, taxes on everything which is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell or taste; taxes upon warmth, light and locomotion; taxes on everything on the earth and in the water under the earth, on everything that comes from abroad or is grown at home; taxes on the raw materials and on every new value that is added by the labor and art of man; taxes on the spices which pamper man's appetite, and on the drug that is administered to his disease; taxes on the emine of the judge, and on the rope that hangs the criminal; taxes on the poor man's salt and on the rich man's dainties; taxes on the ribbons of the bride and on the brass nails of her coffin; at bed or at board, *'couchant ou levant'*, we must pay. The schoolboy spins his taxed horse on a taxed saddle, with a taxed bridle, on a taxed road; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine, which has paid seven per cent., into a spoon which has paid fifteen per cent., flings himself back on his chintz bed which has paid twenty-two per cent., makes his will on a stamp that has paid eight pounds, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid one hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is then taxed from two to ten per cent. in probate, and large fees are demanded for burying in a church; his virtues are huddled down to posterity on taxed marble, and he is gathered to his fathers to be taxed no more."

And yet England has free trade. Why? Because her labor, hand and machine, is at minimum rates.

English Taxes.

Now I fully consent that Englishmen shall enjoy the luxury of paying all these taxes into the English treasury, and solemnly protest against my countrymen depriving them of that luxury. Let England—let every cheap pauper laborer—keep their taxes at home. Keep them domesticated. We have no good use for them. We do not want them, however much the Democratic party may desire them. To arrive at greater precision than set forth in my statement that the excise and other taxes entering into the cost of the exports of Great Britain are more than double the essential or original cost of those exports, I offer the following extract from a careful prepared document of the twenty-seventh Congress, to-wit: "It is generally alleged that a man pays fifteen shillings for the use of government out of every twenty shillings he spends in England. Some have stated the public tax at seventeen shillings in the pound." Thus, taking an average, we perceive that in fact the excise and other taxes imposed on English exports, amount to more than four times their original value. The English exports, or in other words, American imports, since the destruction of our commercial fleet, come to us

mostly in English vessels; so that the American consumer of these imports not only pays their original value, and all the taxes British ingenuity can attach to them, but pays for having them freighted to them.

His fellow-countrymen and his country's treasury realize not one cent of benefit. England, in some form or other, gets it all. Now that system of political economy that does not see these obvious facts, does not see that consumption of foreign products supplants the consumption of domestic products, giving aid and comfort thereby to foreign industries, to the disparagement of home industries, repelling foreign treasures at the expense of our home treasury—but does see with Argus eyes, and proclaims as with lungs of Eolus, the abstract fact that, "Any increase in price of domestic product consequent on the imposition of taxes on the import of corresponding products of foreign origin is paid by the domestic consumer"—is evidently partial, sophistical and mischievous in the affairs of men.

Fallacies of Free Trade.

The analysis of the four principal propositions of the doctrine put forth by the advocates of free trade, shows one and all of them, partial, defective and untrue in fact, and as the water of a reservoir cannot rise above the source whence it comes, so conclusions cannot rise above the premises from which they are logically deduced.

Radical Error of Free Trade.

But what constitutes the radical error of the free trade policy?

We answer: in predicting constant equality, instead of variable inequality.

The earth with its hills and dales, its rippling streams and mighty rivers, its arid plains and verdant fields, its restless seas and rugged mountains, its summer's heat and winter's cold, presents not a greater diversity in its physical features, than the world with its high and low, rich and poor, its free well paid labor, and its labor of compulsion, its armies of progress, and its tramping hordes of hungry millions, its states of freedom and empires of despotisms, presents in its social, political and commercial features.

Law of Change.

And in all, the law of change is ever in force; mountains are eroded and borne in the form of debris into the sea, whence they rise again as islands and continents into prominence and loftiness; convulsions occur that shake the earth to its center; tornadoes and cyclones sweep over the earth, wrecking fleets, prostrating cabin and palace, forest and city alike; so revolutions occur not less marked in the affairs of men.

Republics are eroded and engulfed beneath the enslaving wave of despotism, whence they rise again in grandeur and beauty to enfranchise and bless mankind. Convulsions occur from within that shake the foundations of mightiest empires and most stable governments, and wars sweep over the world, changing all its social, political and commercial aspects.

Millennium.

Now, when inequality shall no longer exist; when despotism and freedom shall be unity; when the chasm between free labor and cheap pauper labor shall be closed up by equal wages; when industry and indolence shall equally share the fruits of labor; when the landmarks of States and nations—the protecting walls of family and society—shall be destroyed, and the ideal brotherhood of man everywhere obtain; when "grim visaged war shall smooth his wrinkled front," swords be beaten into plow-shares and spears into pruning hooks; the "lamb and lion lie down together," and, in a word, the millennium be established, then, and not till then, will the policy of free trade be feasible or tolerable.

Equalizing Labor.

The effect of equalizing American free labor and Chinese labor is seen in the hoodlumism in our midst. The places in the various industries intended by kind Providence for the willing hands of these boys and girls at remunerative wages, are filled to the shame of the free trade policy with Chinese coolies.

To the winds with quibbling about terms; the fact, the principle, is here seen in its nakedness and deformity—call it by any other name; clothe it in foreign fabrics, woolen, cashmere, silk—as you will—the principle remains the same. It is simply in one case free trade unclad, and in the other free trade clad.

It may, perhaps, quite as we'll come to us naked as clad; for, in either case, it comes as the enemy of domestic labor, while in the latter case we pay exorbitant excise on its clothing. There is no disguising the fact that the free trade policy is pro-Chinese, pro-foreign, anti-American, every inch of it.

The dogma of the universal panacea was long ago exploded as a chimera. As well attempt to navigate the dry land, plain, valley and mountain with sea-going vessels, as to render constant equality coincident with variable inequality. To secure

the best results, the means must be adapted to the requirements.

"Let alone, let alone" every industry to care for itself is the dictum the shibboleth of the free trade policy. What could be more unnatural, unwise and inhuman. As well say "let alone" our wives and children, give them no protection, no shelter against the burning rays of the sun, the piercing cold, and the fury of the storm.

Free Trade Democrats.

Are ye, free trade Democrats, of those who having eyes to see, see not? Ears to hear, hear not? And faculties to understand, understand not? Go and learn sense of the prudent householder. See with what care he waters, fertilizes and nurtures the tender plant; so that he withholds nothing requisite to its healthful growth, till it shall have struck its roots deep into the earth, whence without his further aid it can sustain itself.

The lion, conscious that its young are lions, may with impunity "let them alone," leave them alone in unexplored wilderness, arid desert, or hostile jungle to battle for life. But in the economy of the world there are other animals quite as useful and profitable to man as lions; those whose well being requires the watchful care and protection of the herdsman and shepherd. So it is mostly with our various industries, which if "let alone" must perish, but if cared for and protected will thrive and contribute to our prosperity and happiness.

But Democrats seem to think lions are preferable to those animals that feed and clothe us and bear our burdens.

Free Trade.

The "let alone," or free trade policy, as we have seen, leads to a system of taxation by foreign nations and foreign factors.

Protection.

Now, on the other hand, the American protective policy operates as a rescue from and a shield against such wrongs.

It operates to create and establish new industries and to encourage both new and old.

By multiplying the greatest diversity of industry it becomes the greatest benefactor. The industries fertilize one another.

It operates to build up domestic commerce at the expense of foreign commerce.

It fills our own homes with the necessities, comforts and luxuries of life, instead of bestowing them upon foreign houses.

It destroys monopoly by inducing competition at home.

It counteracts the machine power of foreign countries by utilizing the resources of our own country.

It devises and gives employment to all willing hands within our domain.

Daniel Webster.

Webster says: "Place this great truth on the title page of every book of political economy, that where there is work for the hands of men there will be work for their teeth. Where there is employment there will be bread. It is a great blessing to the poor to have cheap food, but greater than that, prior to that, and of still higher value is the blessing of being able to buy food by honest and respectable employment."

"Employment feeds and clothes and instructs. Employment gives health, sobriety and morals. Constant employment and well-paid labor produce in a country like ours general prosperity, content and cheerfulness."

For further proof of the beneficent effect of the American protective policy, open to any page of its record.

Thus, the tariff of 1824, found the country deeply in debt and in great distress, arising from having bought more than it sold. The fruit of the tariff paid the debt and gave to the country prosperity and happiness.

Henry Clay.

Thus Henry Clay says in 1832: "If I were to select any term of seven years since the adoption of the present Constitution, which exhibited a scene of the most widespread dismay and desolation, it would be exactly that term of seven years which immediately preceded the tariff of 1824."

"And if the term of seven years were to be selected of the greatest prosperity which this people have enjoyed since the establishment of their present Constitution, it would be exactly that period of seven years which immediately followed the passage of the tariff of 1824."

Democratic Free Trade.

But the free trade policy of the Democratic party changed that order of things.

The sun of that bright day went down in gloom. Night followed, rivaling the dark ages in adversity, till in 1840, the aggregate of the public debt amounted to \$900,000,000. Twelve years of Democratic rule under Andrew Jackson and Martin Van Buren had brought the country to the verge of ruin. The people pined, stood agast, before the murky abyss.

Then, turning from the lead of that *ignis fatuus*, from trade, sought their way back to the highway of progress whence they had strayed.

Harrison and Tyler, pledged to the American protective policy, were respectively elected President and Vice-President of the United States by an overwhelming majority.

President Harrison, dying in 1841, one month after his inauguration, the affairs of Chief Magistrate devolved on Mr. Tyler, than whom Benedict Arnold was not more perfidious. Notwithstanding his perfidy, the Tariff Act of 1842, was passed, and the sun that went down in gloom rose in splendor. The industries, as if by supernatural agencies, are revived by its light and genial warmth. Hands and teeth everywhere find work to do throughout the land. Wages increase, and all goes merry as a marriage bell. Let the following suffice to illustrate the general change wrought:

"In the Schuylkill region," says Mr. Webster, "after the passage of the tariff of 1842, by which a duty of \$1.75 per ton on coal was imposed, the increase of product amounted in three years to not less than five hundred and sixty thousand tons. The price of labor became greatly advanced, but the price of coal fell from \$5.50 per ton to \$3.37, a pretty good proof that prices may fall in consequence of protection." In 1864, twenty years later, American steel rails sold at \$148.50 per ton, and English Bessemer steel at \$85.65. In 1882—forty years after Mr. Webster spoke—under the American protective policy, we manufactured at higher rates of wages 1,300,000 tons, and imported only 387,000 tons, while the price, under a protection of \$28 per ton, fell from \$148.50—with limited sales—to \$31 per ton, under a sale of 1,300,000 tons, and is now \$27 per ton; showing that it is just as true now as in 1842, that home competition under a sound protective policy reduces the price of the article, and at the same time advances the rate of wages.

Monopoly destroyed, abundance increased; prices diminished forty per cent. on coal, eighty per cent. on steel, and wages greatly advanced. What greater benefits could be asked of the protective policy? But hold! there are other benefits growing out of it. The industries, agricultural and commercial, are so interwoven in a common texture, or common interest, that no one can be benefited or injured without the others being benefited or injured with it, and what benefits or injuries any industry, benefits or injures labor; for labor is the soul of all industry.

Professor Colton.

Professor Colton says: "It has been ascertained, and well certified, that the Glenham Woolen Factory at Fishkill, New York, with a capital of \$140,000, gives profitable employment to \$1,422,000 worth of American capital, chiefly agricultural." This being true, then \$104,000,000 of manufacturing capital of the United States, at the same rate, would employ \$5,080,000,000 worth of American capital. It is thus obvious that a failure to protect the manufacturing capital, works not only an injury to it, but to ten times its amount of other capital. And further, in consequence, labor is thrown out of employment. The statistics of Massachusetts show that in that State the wages were 28.36 per cent. higher in 1883, than they were in 1860. That the average wages are 62 per cent. higher in Massachusetts than the wages are in Great Britain, and that the living, though 50 per cent. better in Massachusetts than in Great Britain, is but 6 per cent. higher. "Facts are stubborn things." These facts are no less potent than stubborn in demonstrating the wisdom of the American protective policy.

No demonstration of untruths is more rigidly certain than that the protective policy is the sterling, unserving friend of the poor man, and of labor, and of the whole country, as determined by these carefully prepared statistics. When the population of Great Britain was 25,000,000, an English writer estimated that the man power of the manufacturing machinery of that empire was 200,000,000. But now are greatly increased—say 50 per cent. Then in that machinery there is an effective force equal to that of 300,000,000 strong, unskilled, skillful and hard-working men. Curiously now the living and maintenance of these machine men entirely English.

Their structure is entirely of English metal and wood, and their food is English coal. They are independent of your cereals, wines, and products. Eat neither of your corn or wheat, nor drink of your wines, excepting a small supply for their overseers or officers. They are aggressive, persistent, alert and hard of heart, as of limb.

These men created of wood and metal, knowing neither fatigue nor hardship, working for their board and expenses say two cents a day per man—work much cheaper than Chinamen do, even in their own country, where their wages are comparatively nominal.

Let then neither those who say "The Chinese must go," nor those who say the Chinese shall not come, forget this fact, that the effective man power

in the machinery of Great Britain is more than five times the man power of all China with its two million millions.

That is the effective labor at nominal wages—starvation prices, "two cents per day per man" of Great Britain, by means of its machinery or army of iron men, is more than five times the effective labor, could it all be utilized, of China.

Now, in the great battle of life, you unavoidably have to meet this mighty force as a foe, face to face. Will you oppose to it your muscle, your bare body, or will you shield and defend yourselves with the resources of your country? If the latter, protect your industries, protect your labor, reward it, not as the labor of menials, but as the labor of equals, in whom is vested sovereignty.

Abundant materials are in your fields, and forests, and mountains. Inexhaustible energies are reposing in your coal beds or running to waste in your numerous streams. Skilled and willing hands are in readiness to transform, to marshal these elements, these resources, into a superior force with which to confront your mighty and relentless foe, 300,000,000 strong. Shall they not do it? Will you not, in view of the facts presented, husband your resources, foster and protect your industries, protect your labor against any and all cheap pauper labor, whether it be in the form of hand or machine? To this end, the American protective policy, thus far, has done noble battle, and stands to-day with port erect, conscious of its integrity and wisdom, and proudly points to the record of its crowning effort during the last twenty-four years.

Though opposed on every side and at every point by the free trade policy, yet has it triumphed over its implacable enemy and accomplished more of good than it promised.

Its achievements are without precedent, parallel or prior conception. Statesmen may err in opinions, analysts in conclusions, but the results of experience are fixed facts. Thirty thousand millions of dollars added to the wealth of the United States, an amount 2,000,000,000 more than double the accumulation in all prior time—added since the Republican party, under the banner of the American protective policy, took the helm of the Ship of State in 1860, and managed to the present time, is a fixed fact, the crowning fact, the summary fact of the whole case.

Who can say, without violation of his conscience, that in his soul he believes that policy, that party cannot longer be trusted with the affairs of government? Indeed, he may as well deny his own existence, deny that the earth revolves, or that the stars are above our heads, as to deny that the Republican party, with the American protective policy wrought in its glorious ensign at the main, has accomplished these unprecedented achievements; has wisely and safely guided through darkness and storm and perilous seas the Ship of State, laden with a cargo of thirty thousand millions of dollars of material wealth and the honor and integrity of the Union, and the blessings of progress in all things essential to our prosperity and happiness, greatness and glory.

"Sail on, O Ship of State!
Sail on, O Union, strong and great
Humanity with all its fears,
With all the hopes of future years,
Is hailing breathless on thy fate!"

COMMON SCHOOL.

Professions and Practices of the Two Great Parties—Democracy Tramples upon the Poor Man and the Child—Republican Educates and Elevates Them—The Record.

In 1830, the Democratic national platform contained this plank:

"Common schools fostered and protected."

In 1880, the Republican national platform contained this plank:

"The work of popular education is one left to the care of the several States, but it is the duty of the National Government to aid that work to the extent of its constitutional ability. The intelligence of the nation is but the aggregate of the intelligence in the several States, and the destiny of the nation must be guided, not by the genius of any one State, but by the average genius of all."

In 1884, the Democratic national platform contained this plank:

"We favor . . . the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship."

These are the "professions" of the two great parties. An inquiry into their "practices" will prove instructive reading in the masses.

Free Schools Destructive of Southern Aristocracy.—Hence the Bourbons Hate, Cripple, and Destroy Them.

We have already seen that the Republican Party was born in a fight to liberate owned labor—slave labor—from the fetter clutch of the Democratic labor owners. From that day to this it has been the free— and benefactor of the

farmer, the artisan, the mechanic, the laborer. Pledged to that friendship at its birth, it has devoted its life to fostering our industries of all kinds for the benefit and protection of the workman in every condition of working life—paying regard not alone to his material but to his intellectual improvement—insuring him a comfortable living, high wages, and a free education. What, on the other hand, has been the record of the Democratic Party? During the past half century (a very thought has been how to build on to slavery, or to perpetuate it by penance, and to degrade honest toilers, while it back, to the condition of serfs. The "glorious aristocracy" of the South, as Hammond, of South Carolina, once termed it, still believe in the sentiments uttered by Pickens in 1836, that: "All society settles down into Capitalists and Laborers; the former will own the latter, either collectively through the Government, or individually in state of domestic servitude, as exists in the Southern States of this Confederacy." The only contest in the world is between the two systems—and, thus believing, this "glorious aristocracy," which makes itself under the name of "Democracy," is determined to be the "upper dog in the fight." While, therefore, the Republican Party is ever striving to give and secure to the masses—in the future—their own—that free education which will make him any man's equal, and which is the very foundation of our free Republican institutions, the Democratic Party venemously hates the free schools and does all that it can to cripple and destroy them wherever it has secured undisputed sway. Hence the rebellion the term "free schools" was one of derision in the South. Since the Bourbon Democracy have usurped the governments of the South by terrorism and fraud they term them "pauper schools," and hamper them in every way, because, in the proud ignorance, lies their only hope of perpetuated power.

It was General Grant who said in his address to the Army of the Tennessee:

"The free school is the promoter of that intelligence which is to preserve us as a free nation."

In one of his messages to Congress, President Grant earnestly recommended,

"That a constitutional amendment be submitted to the legislatures of the several States for ratification, making it the duty of each of the several States to establish and forever maintain free public schools up to the education of all the children in the rudimentary branches, within their respective limits, irrespective of sex, color, birthplace, or religion."

President Hayes, more than once brought the subject to the attention of Congress, recommending:

"That Congress, by suitable legislation and with proper safeguards supplant the local educational funds to the several States where the grave duties and responsibilities of citizenship have been devolved on undeducated people, by devoting to the purpose grants of public lands and, if necessary, by appropriations from the Treasury of the United States."

President Garfield in his inaugural said of the coming generation of voters:

"If that generation come to its inheritance, blinded by ignorance and corrupted by vice, the fall of the Republic will be certain and remorseless. The census has sounded the alarm in the appalling figures which mark how high the tide of illiteracy has risen among our voters and their children. . . . For the North and South alike there is but one remedy. All the constitutional power of the nation and of the States, and all the volunteer forces of the people, should be summoned to meet this danger by the saving influences of universal education."

President Arthur, in his first annual message, said:

"There is now a special reason why, by setting apart the proceeds of its sales of public lands, or by some other course, the Government should aid the work of education. Many who now exercise the right of suffrage are unable to read the ballot which they cast. Upon many who had just emerged from slavery were suddenly devolved the responsibilities of citizenship in that portion of the country most impoverished by war. . . . All that can be done by local legislation and private generosity should be supplemented by such aid as can be constitutionally afforded by the national Government. . . . widely distributed in the different States according to the ratio of illiteracy. . . ."

In his second annual message, President Arthur said:

"The census returns disclose an alarming state of illiteracy in certain portions of the country where the provision for schools is grossly inadequate. It is a momentous question for the decision of Congress whether immediate and substantial aid should not be extended by the general Government for supplementing the efforts of private beneficence and of State and territorial legislation in behalf of education."

In his third annual message President Arthur again adverted to the subject, saying:

"I have previously referred to the alarming state of illiteracy in certain portions of the country, and again submit for the consideration of Congress whether some Federal aid should not be extended to public primary education wherever adequate provision therefor has not already been made."

Alabama Free Schools—How the Republicans Established and the Democrats Crippled Them.

The free-school system established in the reconstructed Southern States by the Republican

Party was hated by the Bourbons, scoffed at as a "Yankee imposition," and denounced as a "monstrous evil," and almost invariably the return of the Bourbon Democracy to power in any State was the signal for abolishing free schools altogether or for crippling their usefulness, and it is only the gradual springing of Republican and anti-Bourbon ideas that the increasing favor with which free schools are regarded in the South is due. Take Alabama for instance. The Republican constitution of that State (abolished by the Bourbons when they usurped the power in 1875), required that one-fifth of the annual revenues of the State be set aside for educational purposes; and under Republican control, the State paid 8 per cent. interest in those townships whose lands were sold under the sixteenth-section appropriation, made by the ordinance of 1787. The Democrats, however, in gaining control, not only reduced this interest from 8 to 4 per cent.—a reduction to the common school fund of \$73,000.00—but cut down the interest on the surplus revenue funds given to the State by the act of 1830, which had also been added to the school fund. The University fund, and the mechanical and normal fund—funded only in the higher classes—continued to receive their 8 per cent. Democratic antagonism was not directed against these; it might as well keep in ignorance the masses, the poor laborers, whether black or white.

Bill of Senators Logan and Blair—Sherwin's Free-School Bill Killed by Democrats.

During the Forty-Seventh Congress bills were introduced in the Senate by the Republican Senators, Logan and Blair, appropriating respectively \$50,000,000 and \$15,000,000, to aid the free schools, but nothing came of them during that Congress. It must have been in derision of these feeble efforts of Republicans to help the great cause of public education, that during the same Congress a Democratic Senator from North Carolina introduced a bill to take off all the federal whiskey tax, so that the several States may, if they see fit, use it for school purposes. In the House, too, the record of the first session of that Congress is equally illustrative to Democracy. Republican Representative Sherwin introduced a bill appropriating \$10,000,000 a year for five years to bring \$50,000,000 in all, to sustain the free public schools, to be distributed on the basis of illiteracy—putting it where it was most needed—and the Republican Committee on Elections reported the bill favorably to the Republican House. But under the rules it required unanimous consent to take it up out of its order and pass it. Who refused to give that consent and thus obstructed its passage? The distinguished Democratic leaders, Randall and Holman. The ark of Democratic safety is ignorance. And when Republican statesmen tender free schools to all free men, the Democratic-Bourbon leaders naturally oppose it, because they are as much the enemies as the Republicans are the friends of the enlightenment and elevation of the laboring man.

A Word to the Laboring Man as to His Own and His Fellow-Workman's Children.

What says the laboring man to this incontrovertible proof, by the record, of Democratic hatred of those free schools which alone can give to that laborer's children a chance for elevation in the social and political systems? What reliance can be placed on the promises of a party that, in 1850, declared in its platform for "common schools fostered and protected," and yet in 1881, refused to suspend the rules in the Democratic House of Representatives to pass a Republican bill to foster, aid, and protect those same common schools? Should he not spit upon that Democratic Party which, in 1851, has the brazen effrontery to declare to its National Platform that "We favor . . . the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship?" and the sudden indifference of a Democratic House has not even paid it the poor compliment of consideration and discussion?

In General Butler's letter of acceptance he tells how, in behalf of laboring men and women of the country he, as a member of the Committee on Resolutions of the Democratic National Convention of 1884, offered the following resolution for its adoption:

"That the future of the country votes with the laboring man in demanding a liberal support by the United States of common-school education in the States, so that all citizens shall be sufficiently instructed in their duties as freemen and electors."

He tells us also that it was "voted down."

Instead of it the committee reported, and the convention adopted the transparently lying declaration: "We favor . . . the diffusion of free education by common schools, so that every child in the land may be taught the rights and duties of citizenship."

And then, becoming aware, perhaps, of the inconsistency of its own professions in behalf of free education with its uniform practical opposition to the same, it adopted in another part of the platform this paltry excuse for its action:

"We are opposed to all propositions which, upon any pretext, would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States or the citizens thereof."

Is it not plain that every vote cast by the laboring man for the Democratic Party is a vote to deny to his own and to his fellow-workman's children the equal right which the Republican Party declares them entitled to, of equal common-school education with the children of the rich?

THE RESOURCES OF CALIFORNIA.

JOHN P. H. WENTWORTH,
EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.PUBLICATION OFFICE:
No. 330 Sansone St., Hallock Building.
ISSUED MONTHLY

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SAN FRANCISCO, OCTOBER 1884.

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When you have read this paper preserve it and lend it to your neighbors, or send it to some friend in the Eastern, Western or Southern States, Canada, England and Continental Europe, who will value the information it contains, and might be likely to come or send intelligent, industrious farmers to settle in California.

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Vice-President, JOHN A. LOGAN

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J. D. BYRNS, J. B. REDDICK,
CHARLES W. REED, HORACE DAVIS,
MARCUS H. BECHT, CHESTER ROWELL.

CONGRESSIONAL.

First District, THOMAS L. CAROTHERS
Second District, JAMES A. LOUITT
Third District, JOSEPH McKENNA
Fourth District, WILLIAM W. MORROW
Fifth District, CHARLES N. FELTON
Sixth District, H. H. MARKHAM

MUNICIPAL.

Mayor, W. L. MERRY
Sheriff, WM. PATTERSON
Auditor, N. B. STONE
Tax Collector, LUMAN WADHAM
County Clerk, LOUIS S. JACOBS
Supt. of Streets, CHAS. S. RUGGLES
Recorder, D. M. CASHIN
Treasurer, JOHN A. BAUER
District Attorney, J. N. E. WILSON
City and County Atty., JOHN LORD LOVE
Surveyor, C. S. TILTON
Public Administrator, E. N. TORREY
Coroner, DR. W. M. LAWLER
Superior Judges, JOHN HUNT, D. J. MURPHY, E. W. BLANEY, L. E. PRATT.
Police Judges, HALE REX, W. A. S. NICHOLSON.
Justices of the Peace, MYER JACOBS, ETHELBERT BURKE, C. F. WOOD, D. A. O'CONNELL, W. B. SMITH.

SUPERVISORS.

First Ward, DR. JUSTIN GATES
Second Ward, ROBERT ROY
Third Ward, DR. J. E. KUNKLER
Fourth Ward, J. E. ABBOTT
Fifth Ward, W. B. FAIRWELL
Sixth Ward, D. HICKS
Seventh Ward, JAMES WILLIAMSON
Eighth Ward, D. L. FARNSWORTH
Ninth Ward, ALBERT REYER
Tenth Ward, JAMES GILLERAN
Eleventh Ward, DANIEL McMILLAN
Twelfth Ward, SAMUEL VALLEAU

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C. T. DEANE, EDW. POLLITZ

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SENATORS.

Ninth District, GEO. C. PARKINSON,
LEGISTO FALMER.
Eleventh District, GERSON MOSBACH,
JOS. M. MacGLONK.

Thirteenth District, JOHN M. DAVIS,
J. L. BOONE.

ASSEMBLYMEN.

Twenty-ninth District, JAMES H. DALY
Thirtieth District, E. C. KALBEN
Thirty-first District, PETER DYERNEY
Thirty-second District, JOS. FRANKLIN
Thirty-third District, DR. W. B. MAY
Thirty-fourth District, F. W. HUSSEY
Thirty-fifth District, DR. N. T. WHIFFOMB
Thirty-sixth District, JOHN LAFRERTY
Thirty-seventh District, M. SULLIVAN
Thirty-eighth District, W. B. HUNT
Thirty-ninth District, CHARLES H. WARD
Fortieth District, JULIUS BUHLERT
Forty-first District, H. C. FIREBAUGH
Forty-second District, V. C. McMURRY, JR.
Forty-third District, E. F. LOUD
Forty-fourth District, E. M. LOVELL
Forty-fifth District, H. K. McJUNKIN
Forty-sixth District, A. H. COOK
Forty-seventh District, C. D. DOUGLAS
Forty-eighth District, FRANK FRENCH

W. L. MERRY.

This gentleman, whose name heads the Republican municipal ticket, as the candidate for Mayor, is well and favorably known to our citizens as an honorable and successful merchant. He is a native of New York, born in 1835, and came to California in 1850, at the age of fifteen years. He chose the sea as his profession, and shipped before the mast in 1851. His intelligence and energy soon placed him upon the quarter-deck and, rising rapidly through the various nautical gradations, was at an early age promoted to the command of a fine ship, and afterwards commanded some of our large ocean steamers. Recognizing his executive ability, the steamship companies gave him the agency of their lines at Panama and Nicaragua, which responsible position he occupied during three years. Desiring to engage in mercantile pursuits, he severed his connection with steamship companies, and, in 1863, established himself on Front street in the provision business. His reputation for upright and honorable dealing ensured his success, and he is now senior partner in the well-known firm of Merry, Fnull & Co., one of the most extensive provision houses on the Pacific Coast. Captain Merry is a representative business man, whose public character is untarnished and whose private life is irreproachable. His successful conduct of his own affairs is a good guaranty

DAVID L. FARNSWORTH.

Republican candidate for Supervisor of the Eighth Ward, is emphatically a self-made man. He is a native of New Hampshire and his parents, who moved in the humbler walks of life, could give him but little assistance on the road to fortune. Born and reared among the granite hills, which were not more firmly fixed upon their foundations than was the character of the young man based upon the great principles of honesty and integrity, his was not a nature to be intimidated by adverse circumstances. In 1858, at the age of twenty years, he borrowed money to pay his passage, and came to California. He engaged in the business of teaming to the mines, and the first money he earned was sent home to repay the amount borrowed. He returned to San Francisco in 1859, and for a time supplied water to customers. Selling out his interest in water, he next engaged in the milk trade, in which he was quite successful, and with the funds thus accumulated he bought horses and drays and entered upon the business in which he is now engaged. As he is enterprising, honest and reliable he has won the respect and esteem of all who know him. Having been a resident of this city more than twenty-five years, where he has considerable property interests, twenty years he is eminently qualified for a seat in the municipal legislature, and we doubt not will be triumphantly elected.

A GOOD CANDIDATE.

D. J. Murphy the nominee for Superior Judge is a native of Lowell, Mass., where he was born in 1833. His father was one of the early settlers of that city. Having graduated from the Lowell High School, Mr. Murphy, at the age of eighteen, commenced and pursued the study of the law in the well-known office of Beard and Gunnison in his native city, until he left for this State in the early part of 1851. We have known the honorable gentleman from early boyhood. We were school-mates. He stood well in the city where he was reared. He stands well here, and no better man could be elected.

BOARD OF EDUCATION.

The character of the men to whom are to be committed the interests of our public schools, should be closely and carefully scrutinized. We want no more such maladministration as has characterized the present Board of Education which is undoubtedly one of the worst that has ever been elected. The nominees for School Directors on the Republican ticket are well known citizens, men of family, and all who have the welfare of our schools at heart should vote for them.

CHOICE MEATS.

F. I. ABRIAN, stalls 5 and 6 California Market, keeps as fine a line of choice meats as can be found in the city of San Francisco. He gives correct weight and sells at reasonable prices. Give him a trial, and our word for it, you will be satisfied.

The Philadelphia Press says: "Four ciphers will have to be affixed to the numeral which signifies the Republican majority in Ohio."

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CAPT. WM. L. MERRY, REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE FOR MAYOR OF SAN FRANCISCO.

that he will honestly and carefully administer the affairs of the city. His high sense of honor will prevent him from becoming the tool of any clique, and his sturdy independence will preserve him from all "entangling alliances." Let him be elected by a majority which will evidence the faith of our citizens in genuine worth and integrity.

SAMUEL VALLEAU.

Candidate on the Republican ticket for Supervisor of the Twelfth Ward, is a native of San Francisco, about thirty years of age. He is a graduate of our High School, and being reared in our midst, is well known to a large portion of our citizens. At the age of seventeen he entered a leading printing office for the purpose of learning the "art preservative," and, after mastering its details, he formed a business co-partnership with Mr. J. R. Brodie, and by promptitude in meeting his engagements, by strict attention to business and honorable dealing, he has built up a large and thriving trade. Mr. Valleau is married and has a family; is a property owner and one of San Francisco's representative young men. He has always been a Republican, and, if elected, will, we have no doubt, fill the position with credit to himself and satisfaction to his constituents.

LUMAN WADHAM.

Republican candidate for Tax Collector, was born in Essex county, New York, on the twenty-third day of August, 1833. He received a common-school education, and, at the age of sixteen, entered a country store, where he remained until his departure for California in April, 1852. He arrived in San Francisco on the tenth day of May, 1852, on the steamship Panama, and has resided here continuously since. Mr. Wadham has been an ardent Republican since the organization of the Party, and cast his first vote in this city. He was member of the California Furniture Manufacturing Company for thirteen years, and is at present Secretary of the Bank Commissioners, and of the Veteran's Home Association. He has been Recording Secretary of Templar Lodge, No. 17, I. O. O. F., for sixteen years, and was a member of the Board of Education in 1879-80. Mr. Wadham is well-known in this community, and his character as an upright and worthy citizen is unassailable.

Cleveland, Butler, Lockwood, Ellsworth, St. John—well, they must all go. With Beecher at the helm, Curtis as chief deck hand, and Carl Schurz as scullion, they will take their departure up Salt River on the 4th of next month. May the Devil give them a friendly boost.

THE PROTECTED AMERICAN LABORER.

"We favor the establishment of a National Bureau of Labor, the enforcement of the eight-hour law, and . . . protection to the rights and wages of the laborer, to the end that active and intelligent labor, as well as capital, may have its just reward, and the laboring man his full share in the national prosperity."—Republican National Platform, 1881.

Comparative Wages of Mechanical and Factory Labor in Massachusetts and Great Britain—Increase of Wages in Massachusetts, 1860 to 1881.

That the American Protective Tariff system encourages the investment of capital in manufacturing enterprises, and hence gives employment to labor, is denied by none. That it thereby makes the Nation self-sustaining by diversifying our industries is equally patent. In the preceding chapter its great benefits to the farm-owner and farm-cultivator in all ways—whether as to increased value of his land and its products, or as to decreased price of all that he needs unsupplied—have been shown beyond cavil. Let us now ascertain how and to what extent this Republican-American system benefits and elevates American labor in all its practical aspects, so that the miserable working classes of Europe lift their eyes with longing gaze toward the fair land where honest toil is respected, adequately compensated, and is a badge of inability and not of degradation.

As England is the great exponent of the doctrine of Free Trade, so America is that of Protection. Comparisons, therefore, between the results achieved in these two countries are eagerly sought by the intelligent workman. It is difficult, of course, in one country so vast as this, with wages of the same kind of labor so much greater in some parts than in others, to make as close a comparison for the study of the laboring man and the political student as could be wished. But it is generally conceded that the fairest comparison of the sort that can be made is that between Massachusetts and Great Britain. Let us then take Massachusetts, and compare twenty-four of the leading industries common to both of them, and we find the following to be the general average weekly and hourly wages paid to all employees therein engaged:

* General average weekly wage paid to all employees.

Industries.	General Average Weekly Wage paid in All Employees.		Percentage of Average Weekly Wage, higher in
	Mass.	Great Britain.	
Agricultural implements.	\$10.25	\$9.85	15.8
Artisans' tools.	11.80	4.83	141.3
Boots and shoes.	11.63	4.37	166.1
Brick.	8.63	4.16	107.5
Building trades.	14.09	7.21	107.9
Carpenters.	6.08	4.11	47.9
Carrriages and wagons.	13.80	4.80	185.2
Clothing.	10.01	6.71	49.1
Cotton goods.	6.45	4.66	39.4
Flax and jute goods.	6.48	2.84	127.5
Food preparations.	9.81	2.72	260.7
Furniture.	11.04	7.95	39.7
Glass.	12.29	6.04	76.9
Hats: fur, wool and silk.	11.01	5.51	99.8
Hosiery.	6.49	4.67	39.0
Liquors: malt and distilled.	12.67	12.66	1.7
Machinery and machinery.	11.70	6.93	69.5
Metals and metallic goods.	11.25	7.40	82.0
Printing and publishing.	11.37	5.62	106.0
Textiles: dyeing, bleaching, and finishing cotton textiles.	8.67	4.94	75.5
Stone.	14.39	8.68	67.7
Woolen goods.	12.19	6.67	116.0
Woolen goods.	6.30	4.80	45.0
Worsted goods.	7.32	3.60	103.3
All industries.	\$10.31	\$5.80	76.91

* Compiled from tabulations pages 360 to 361 of the Fifteenth Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, 1884, furnished by Col. Carroll D. Wright, Chief of that Bureau.

Industries.	Average wages by the hour.		GREAT BRITAIN.
	Mass.	Great Britain.	
	Average wages per hour.	Wages by the hour higher in Mass.	Average wages per hour.
	Cls.	Cls.	Cls.
Agricultural implements.	17.08	4.2	16.39
Artisans' tools.	19.67	117.1	9.06
Boots and shoes.	19.56	135.1	8.32
Brick.	13.48		
Building trades.	24.98	78.4	14.00
Carpenters.	16.35	72.00	9.06
Carrriages and wagons.	17.15	37.1	12.51
Clothing.	10.15	29.2	8.32
Cotton goods.	10.77	104.8	5.21
Flax and jute goods.	18.35	217.5	4.88
Food preparations.	18.55	32.4	15.16
Furniture.	20.47		
Glass.	18.35	75	16.1
Hats: fur, wool, and silk.	19.92	25.7	8.61
Hosiery.	18.56		
Liquors: malt and distilled.	19.72	48.8	13.25
Machinery and machinery.	18.21	37.3	13.77
Metals and metallic goods.	19.50	80.4	10.22
Printing and publishing.	14.45	67.9	9.16
Textiles: dyeing, bleaching, and finishing cotton textiles.	24.10		
Stone.	22.32		
Woolen goods.	11.50	32.5	8.68
Woolen goods.	12.20	89.7	643
Worsted goods.			

* Compiled from tabulations, page 361, *ibid.*

These tabulations, the result of painstaking and most intelligent research by the Massachusetts State Bureau of Statistics, exhibit the significant fact that the wages of labor by the hour in Protected Massachusetts exceed those in Free Trade Great Britain by about 71 per cent (70.80), and that the wages of labor by the week in Protected Massachusetts exceed those in Free Trade Great Britain by about 76 per cent (75.94.)

Other careful statistics furnished in the report of the same Bureau for July, 1884, show in a comparison of weekly wage tabulations, that—

"Taking the average wages paid to men as 100, in Massachusetts the ratio of those paid to women is as 51.39 to 100 (that is, the average wages of women are a little more than one-half as much as those paid to men); those paid to young persons 43.04 to 100, and those paid to children 32.15 to 100. In Great Britain the ratio for women is 40.92 (men's wages considered as the unit, or 100), for young persons 29.06 to 100, and for children 9.66 to 100. In Massachusetts, on the average, one woman, one young person, and one child working together would earn as much combined as 128 men; in Great Britain they could earn only 70 as much as a man, or 50.4 per cent in favor of the women, young persons, and children of Massachusetts."

And furthermore that—

"There is in Great Britain no branch of an industry of those considered, in which men are employed, to which the prevailing average weekly wage rises above \$20, while in Massachusetts it is 8 x per cent of the occupations the average weekly wage exceeds that figure, reaching to \$10, or double the highest weekly average wage in Great Britain."

"In Great Britain there is no branch of these industries in which women are paid more than \$6 per week, on an average, while in Massachusetts it is 53 x per cent of the various occupations, or branches of industry, the average weekly wage exceeds \$6 per week, reaching as high as \$19, or more than three times the highest occupation average for Great Britain. In Great Britain \$6 is the highest occupation average for young persons in these industries; the occupation average in Massachusetts reaches to \$11, or nearly double the Great Britain highest occupation average for young persons."

"In the case of children, the highest occupation average, in the industries considered, for Great Britain is \$2, while in Massachusetts it is 98 x per cent of the branches of these industries in which children are employed, the range is higher, reaching \$9 in a small percentage of the occupations."

The Increase of Wages of Mechanical and Factory Labor in Massachusetts from 1860 to 1881.

The following table from the Report of the Massachusetts Labor Statistics Bureau for 1882, develops the increase of labor wages in that State at different periods, from 1860 to 1881, inclusive:

Average Weekly Wage in Massachusetts—1860, 1872, 1878, 1881, from the Report on the Statistics of Labor for Massachusetts for 1882.

OCCUPATION.	Average Weekly Wage, standard, gold.				Increase for 1881.
	1860.	1872.	1878.	1881.	
Agriculture:					
Laborers, per month.	13.63	23.09	15.72	18.00	2.28
Blacksmithing:					
Blacksmiths.	0.30	16.44	13.75	16.38	2.63
Boots and shoes:					
Cutters.	12.00	14.81	11.05	14.91	3.86
Bottom-makers.	10.50	16.00	12.11	14.71	2.60
Crimpers.	10.00	16.00	10.00	11.85	1.85
Blacksmith's helpers.	14.00	16.00	11.75	12.18	.43
Shoemakers.	10.33	14.66	8.00	12.21	4.21
Machinery and machinery:					
Pattern makers.	11.50	17.00	16.24	18.10	2.86
Iron-moulders.	9.00	14.67	12.30	16.40	4.10
Brass-moulders.	10.00	14.67	13.26	15.76	2.60
Bottom-makers.	9.15	15.00	12.15	15.75	3.60
Blacksmith's helpers.	6.50	10.20	7.70	10.20	2.50
Machinists.	9.64	14.40	13.05	17.09	4.04
Cleaners and chippers.	6.00		7.50	8.64	1.14
Chippers.	6.75		9.75	11.33	1.58
Fitters.	8.83	14.40	10.66	12.82	2.16
Setters-up.	10.00	12.80	12.00	13.38	1.38
Rivet-beaters, boys.	4.00		5.00	6.64	.64
Riveters.	9.50	16.67	12.00	13.05	1.05
Wood-workers.	2.16		10.39	14.60	4.21
Painters.	6.00		10.00	12.23	2.23
Laborers.	6.00	8.53	7.27	9.16	1.88
Watchmen.	7.00		9.00	12.21	3.21
Tea-makers.	7.50		10.00	11.80	1.80
Metals and metallic goods:					
Hammermen.			12.00	18.00	6.00
Heaters.			21.33	23.40	2.07
Boilers.			13.83	16.40	2.57
Public.			24.00	18.00	5.91
Shinglers.			24.00	19.50	2.94
Finishers.			27.00	28.87	1.87

* As compared with 1878.

GROVER CLEVELAND is a good enough Free Trader for Frank Hard, a good enough Protectionist for Samuel J. Randall and a good enough straddler for Editor Pulitzer, of the New York World. This, says the Philadelphia Press, is the advantage of having a candidate with duplex, morable principles.

"Mr. Cleveland is much admired in Utah. We are with the Democratic party. As to Mr. Cleveland, our admiration is perfect."—Mormon Bishop Hart.

Well, why not? He has all the symptoms of a first-class Mormon.

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THE RIGHT KING—MR. VANDERBILT SPEAKS.

MR. WM. VANDERBILT, the New York millionaire, has hurried home from Europe, and places himself squarely and unequivocally upon record in the following language:

"I am not a politician but have been a Democrat all my life, and stuck to the old hulk when men of less courage but more wisdom forsook it for solid ground. I have just returned from Europe and am now a Republican, blacker than the blackest. I am an American above all things, and when I found the English and European Press advocating the election of Cleveland in the interest of Free Trade, for the aggrandizement of the selfish supporters of rotten monarchies, and to the prospective detriment of American industry and prosperity, I made up my mind at once that I must change my political affiliation and support James G. Blaine, the champion of American protection, for President. I intended to remain in Europe until just before election, but I became such an enthusiastic Republican that I couldn't stay away any longer, and returned to labor heart and soul for the success of the Republican ticket. I intend to do what I can to show the meddling tricksters of the Old World that the people of this country are able to govern themselves, without foreign aid or advice."

DON. IRVING M. SCOTT'S SPEECH.

The able and finished speech of this gentleman, which we publish in full, is well worthy of careful reading. It is convincing, and proves most conclusively, that Free Trade would be destructive of the industrial interests of the United States. In fact it is a masterly effort, and shows its author to be a patriot, thinking man.

CONGRESSMEN.

Don't fail to vote for Monrow and Felton for Congress. They are for a high, Protective Tariff, and this means good wages for the mechanic, the artisan and the laborer.

"Fellow-citizens, I am not in doubt as to the position we ought to assume on this tariff question. We, of all people of the United States, ought to favor full protection to all our industries. We are a new people and have but commenced the development of a new country. It is to our interest, therefore, to encourage the growth of diversified industries, and the first step in that direction is a protective tariff."—Speech of Hon. W. W. Morrow.

SOME ill-advised German Democrats in Nebraska jilted to some well-advised German Democrats in Buffalo, N. Y., to know how Cleveland would run in that city, hoping to receive an answer available for campaign purposes. But the answer was, "We shall support Blaine."

THE HOMESTEAD QUESTION.

The Great Question of 1858—The Public Domain.

In 1858, it was estimated that there were within the States and Territories 1,000,000 acres of public lands unentered. The great question of the day was: "What shall be done with this immense domain? Shall it be open to monopoly by speculators, be used to build up a landed aristocracy, or shall it be reserved to actual settlers at a nominal price, or without price?" The Republicans proposed to solve the problem by practical legislation in favor of our landless people.

The Republican Attempt to Secure to the Poor Settler Ten Years to Pay for his Farm From Proceeds of Sale, Is Defeated by the Democracy.

At the first session of Thirty-fifth Congress, Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, a member of the House, introduced into that body the following bill for the protection of actual settlers on the public domain:

The Grow Bill.

"Be it enacted, etc., That from and after the first day of September, A. D. 1858, no public lands shall be exposed to sale by proclamation of the President until the same shall have been surveyed, and the return thereon in the land office for at least ten years."

This bill gave to the settler ten years precedence over the speculator, but it was defeated by the Democrats.

Pre-emption Bill of 1859—Grow's Amendment Carried.

Again, on the 20th of January, 1859, in the House, a bill reported from the Committee on Public Lands, relating to pre-emption, Mr. Grow, of Pennsylvania, moved to amend by adding the following section:

"Be it further enacted, That from and after the passage of this act no public land shall be exposed to sale, by proclamation of the President, unless the same shall have been surveyed, and the return of such survey duly filed in the land office for ten years or more before such sale."

The practical effect of this amendment, like that of the bill of the previous session, was to give to the pre-emptor, the actual settler, ten years' precedence of the speculator, and to protect him from the enormous usury of the money sharks, in borrowing from whom he was frequently compelled to heavily mortgage his land. The amendment was opposed by the Southern land Democracy, the slave-holding aristocracy, which, prior to 1861, it was now, dominated the Democratic Party. It was moved that the bill and amendment be committed to "the tomb of the Capito," as the Committee of the Whole was laudably and aptly termed. That motion was defeated by a vote of 92 to 90, and the House was forced to a direct vote on Mr. Grow's amendment. The amendment was carried by yeas 147, nays 81.

The Bill as Amended Defeated by the Democrats.

But the bill as amended was defeated by a vote of 95 nays to 91 yeas. The Republicans voted unanimously for the amendment, as they did for the bill as amended. Every Southern member except two, Mr. Blair, of Missouri, and Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, voted solidly against the bill as amended. Only eight Democrats, Northern Democrats of the Douglass school, dared to support the bill as amended, with their votes; and the character of the opposition is exposed in the indignant criticism of Mr. Cavanaugh, of Minnesota, a Douglass Democrat. He said:

"I say it frankly—I say it in sorrow—that it was to the R. publican side of this House to whom we were compelled to look for support of this just and honorable measure. Gentlemen from the South, gentlemen who have brand acres and wild plantations, aided here to-day by their votes, more to make Republican States in the North than by any vote which has been cast within the last two years. These gentlemen come here and ask us to support the South; yet they, to a man almost, vote against the free, independent labor of the North and West."

Mr. Cavanaugh declared that he had "inherited his Democracy;" that he had been a "Democrat from his boyhood;" that he "believed in the great truths as enunciated by the fathers of the faith," and "cherished them religiously." He added:

"But, sir, when I see Southern gentlemen come up as they did to-day, and refuse by their votes to aid any compromise—refuse to place the actual tiler of the soil, the honest, industrious laborer beyond the grasp and advance of the speculator, I tell you, sir, I latter—I denounce."

The Republicans Demand "Free Homesteads for Actual Settlers."

On the 1st of February, 1859, H. R. 72, "to secure homesteads to actual settlers," which had been referred to the Committee on Agriculture, was reported from that committee January 26, 1859, by Mr. Kelley, from that committee. The Democracy attempted to defeat it, even to prohibit all discussion of its merits, by parliamentary strategy. A motion to lay on the table was lost by a vote of nays 113, to yeas 71, and the House was forced to a direct vote. The bill was then passed—yeas 120, nays 76.

The Republican extreme man of them but only voted solidly for the bill—voted to guarantee the public lands to actual settlers—to donate land to the landless. The great body of the Democracy—60 out of 98—all the Southern Americans—the whole Southern landed aristocracy—voted solidly against the bill.

Homesteads in the Democratic Senate—Democratic Hostility.

On the 17th of February, in the Senate, Ben. Wade, of Ohio, moved to postpone all prior orders, and take up the homestead bill, which had been passed the House. A characteristic debate ensued. The slaveholding aristocracy, the Southern land Democracy, antagonized the homesteaded with the appropriation bills. Said R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia: "I hope there will be no effort to press this homestead bill so far as to displace the appropri-

tion bills." Only a few weeks of the session remained, and an "extended debate" and the loss of the appropriation bills were threatened if the homestead bill was passed. Ben. Wade rejoined that the friends of the bill—the Republicans—wanted no debate. The measure for years had been before the country, had been discussed in all its bearings, and there was no measure in which the people were more deeply interested. But a vote was what the Southern land Democracy maneuvered to avoid or defeat. Said Mr. Hunter: "I do not conceal the fact that I am much opposed to it," that is, to giving "land to the landless," and his colleague, Mr. Morehead declared that he intended "to go into it pretty largely, because he had not yet known a bill so fraught with mischief, and mischief of the most demoralizing kind."

Mr. Wade's motion was carried by a vote of yeas 25, nays 23.

The Republicans voted unanimously to take up the homestead bill, but every Southern Democrat—a "solid South," with the exception of Mr. Johnson, of Tennessee—voted against the motion. Instantly upon the announcement of this vote, which brought the homestead bill before the Senate, Mr. Hunter again moved to lay it aside and take up another bill. An opposition so purely was fittingly called "child's play." During the debate which followed, the morning hour expired, and Vice-President Breckinridge decided that the bill for the purchase of Cuba, the most arduous of the slave-holding, obliquely was the subject pending before the Senate. Whereupon Mr. Wade moved to postpone the Cuba and continue the consideration of the homestead bill. That motion was also carried—yeas 27, nays 26; all the Republicans voting for it; all the Southern Democrats, except Senators Bell and Johnson, of Tennessee, voting against it. Again the homestead was before the Senate; again Mr. Hunter moved to lay it aside. Senators Wade and Seward, in charge, terms, "cherished the friends of the bill to stand firm, but Hunter's motion prevailed—yeas 28, nays 28.

The Senate being equally divided, Vice-President Breckinridge gave the casting vote against the homestead bill. Every vote for Hunter's motion to postpone was Democratic, and all but five were from the South. Only three of the twenty-eight yeas against Hunter's motion and in favor of considering the homestead bill were from the South—Bell and Johnson, of Tennessee, and Houston, of Texas.

"The Great Question of the Day and the Age"—Shall We Give "Lands and Homes to the Landless Freeman, or Slaves to the Slave-holders?"

On the 19th of February, two days afterward, Senator Wade again moved to set aside all prior orders and take up the homestead bill. The motion was defeated. Yeas (all R. publicans but seven) 24, nays (all Democrats) 31. On the 25th of February the motion to take up the homestead bill was again antagonized by the Cuba bill. The Cuba bill prevailed. Yeas (all Democrats) 35, nays (all Republicans but five) 33. After a debate—"an idle debate"—protracted far into the night, and resorted to only as a means of killing the homestead bill, the Republicans, at ten o'clock, P. M., made an effort to bring the latter bill before the Senate. In the debate which ensued, Mr. Seward said:

"After nine hours' yielding to the discussion of the Cuba question, it is time to come back to the great question of the day and the age. The Senate may as well meet face to face the issue which is before them. It is an issue presented by the competition between two questions. One, the homestead bill, is a question of homes, of lands for the landless freemen of the United States. The Cuba bill is a question of slaves to the slaveholders of the United States.

Said Mr. Wade:

"I am very glad that this question has at length come up. I am glad, too, that it has been introduced with this single question. I have been trying here for nearly a month to get a straightforward vote upon this great question of 'land for the landless.' I glory in that measure. It is the greatest that has ever come before the American Senate, and it has now come so that there is no dodging it. The question will be, Shall we give negroes to the negroes or land to the landless?"

The motion to take up the homestead bill was again lost. Yeas (all Republicans but two)—Breckinridge of Cal. and Johnson of Tenn., 19; nays (all Democrats), 29. No further attempt at that session was made to get it before the Senate.

The Republican Homestead Principle again Triumphs in the House—The Grow Homestead Bill Adopted.

At the next session, on the 6th of March, 1860, in the House, Mr. Lovejoy, from the Committee on Public Lands, reported the Grow bill "to secure homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain." The bill was referred to the Committee of the Whole. On March 13th, in the House, Mr. Lovejoy, the bill was taken up on the Committee of the Whole by a vote of yeas 106, to nays 67 (the nays being all Democrats and Southern Americans and among the former William H. English of Indiana). And when Mr. Branch, of North Carolina, in effect moved to lay the bill on the table—yeas, 62 (all from the South except Mr. Montgomery of Pennsylvania), and nays 112. The bill was then passed—yeas 115; nays 66.

Again the Republicans voted unanimously for homesteads, while all voting against them were Democrats, and from the Slave States except Mr. Montgomery of Pennsylvania.

The Democratic Senate's Substitute for the Grow Bill—House Refuses to Concur—A Compromise—President Buchanan Vetoes the Bill.

On the 17th of March, in the Senate, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, reported from the Committee on Public Lands, as a substitute for the Grow homestead bill which had passed the House, a bill granting homesteads to actual settlers at twenty-five cents per acre, but not including pre-emptors already occupying public lands. When the bill came before the Senate for action, Mr. Wade moved to substitute the Grow bill for it, which motion was lost—yeas 26, nays 31. Yeas all Republicans but three—Douglas, Rice and Toombs. Nays all Democrats. On the 14th of May the Johnson bill passed—yeas 44, nays 8. The nays were Bragg, Chalmers, Hamilton, Hunter, Mason, Pender, Powell and Thomas. The House refused to concur in the Senate's amendment, and the result a protracted conference on the part of the committees of the two houses.

On June 19th the committees came to an agreement by the house accepting the Senate bill with

some amendments. Said Mr. Colfax, in reporting the compromise to the House:

"We struggled of course . . . to adopt the free homestead principle of the House bill, but on these points the Senate was indelible, and we took what we did because it was the best we could get." But "this we have agreed to merely as an avant-courier. We shall demand the free homestead principle at the next session of Congress, and until it is granted—and all the public lands shall be opened to the people of the United States.

The report of the Conference Committee the House agreed upon yeas 115, nays 51. All the nays were from the South. The Senate also agreed to the report—yeas 36, nays 2—Bragg of North Carolina and Pearce of Michigan.

But even so scanty a measure of justice to the landless people—half a loaf!—was, June 22, vetoed by President Buchanan. He in effect denounced it as unconstitutional, unjust to the old States, unequal in its operations and pretended to be a measure which "will go far to demoralize the people," or, in the language of Mason of Virginia, "fraught with mischief of the most demoralizing kind."

The President's Veto Sanctioned by the Senate Democracy.

In the Senate, in which the bill originated, this veto was sustained by a vote of 19 to 9, the question was: Shall this bill pass notwithstanding the objections of the President?

All the nays from the South, and all Democrats except Mr. Crittenden of Kentucky. So the bill failed, not having received the requisite two-thirds vote to pass it over the President's veto. All the Republicans present and paired with Democrats in the question voted solidly for the bill but were not strong enough to effect its passage. It was defeated by the Democratic slave-holding vote.

The Scripture Falls from Democratic Hands. The Poor Man's Homestead Triumphs in Republican Success.

On the 4th of March, 1861, Abraham Lincoln was inaugurated President of the United States. A little later the Democracy, the landed aristocratic slave-holding Democracy, accepted, and through four years of unprincipled struggle and maneuvering to build up a Southern confederacy with "slavery as its cornerstone," in which free labor, the free white labor, would have been forever excluded from its lands whether public or private.

In their platform at Chicago, in 1860, the Republicans had adopted the following plank:

"Resolved, that we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free homestead policy, which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty; and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory homestead measure, which has already passed the House."

Accordingly the Republicans, now in control of both Houses of Congress and of the Executive, hastened to redeem this pledge early in 1872, by the enactment of the Homestead Act, which has been such a blessing to our people and our country. It grants 160 acres to every actual settler 21 years or more of age, or head of a family who is, or has declared his intention to become a citizen. That is its main feature, independent of the grant of 160 acres to every person, whether naturalized or not who enlisted in the military service to crush the rebellion.

This noble Republican provision for actual settlers met with considerable Democratic opposition in 1862, before it could be put upon the statute book.

The vote by which it passed the House, February 28th, 1862, was 114 yeas to 18 nays. Of the yeas there were 92 Republicans and 22 Democrats, a proportion of over 4 Republicans to 1 Democrat in favor of the bill; of the nays there were 3 Republicans and 15 Democrats, a proportion of 5 Democrats to 1 Republican against the bill.

The vote by which it passed the Senate, May 6th, 1872, was even more antagonistic.

It stood, yeas 33 to nays 7. Of the yeas 30 were Republicans to 3 Democrats; of the nays 6 were Democrats to 1 Republican. Thus the vote showed a proportion of 10 Republicans to 1 Democrat in favor of the Homestead Bill, and 6 Democrats to 1 Republican opposed to it.

Had they the power of numbers it is hardly necessary to say the Democrats would have killed the Homestead Act of 1862, as they had treated similar measures in previous years.

Extending the Republican Homestead Act—Democratic Opposition and Votes.

In the House February 8th, 1866, a bill was passed extending the provisions of the Homestead Act to the States of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas and Florida. The vote by which it passed was 112 yeas to 29 nays—all the nays being Democrats except 2.

Continued Democratic Hostility.

That the Democracy since the R. rebellion have been as hostile to the homestead principle as they were before "the war" is demonstrated by their persistent and systematic R. rebel principle, if not to wholly destroy, the efficiency of the General Land Office. Appeals made again and again by the Commissioner of the General Land Office, supported by the Secretary of the Interior, to Congress for larger appropriations with which to secure more room and an increased clerical force absolutely demanded by the prompt and efficient execution of the homestead business, have been denied by the Democratic majority of both Houses, while but recently, during reconstruction, in the reports of the generals commanding the several military districts, this hostility was developed in the violent expulsion of settlers who, under the Homestead Act, attempted to locate the lands of the South.

The Homestead Principle a Characteristic Republican Measure.

The donation of the public lands to actual settlers—the homestead principle—the great beneficent result to say the least and the age—is a characteristic Republican measure, and so impudent or fraudulent attempt or claim of the Democracy can in the acceptance of its authorship or of the credit of the beneficent results which through it have accrued to the nation and the people.

The Beneficent Effects of the Homestead Act Demonstrated in the Increased Population, Wealth and Power of the Nation.

Instead of being "fraught with mischief of the most demoralizing kind," as denounced by the Democracy, the wisdom and justice of the Homestead Act, its beneficent results, alike to the States

and nation, may be seen by the following tables brought down to 1882:

Number of homestead entries made under the act up to date	547,347
Number living upon such homesteads (at the low average of 4.35 per family)	2,381,394
Number of acres entered under the act up to date	65,808,987

Equaling the area of the following nine States:

Acres.	
New Hampshire	5,939,200
Massachusetts	4,992,000
Rhode Island	835,840
Connecticut	3,040,000
New York	30,080,000
New Jersey	5,324,800
Delaware	1,356,800
Maine	7,814,400
Vermont	6,121,600

Plus nearly half the area of the state of Rhode Island

54,504,640
304,347

65,808,987

The 2,381,394 souls thus added to the Union equals the population of the following six States, viz:

POPULATION.	
California	864,694
Minnesota	780,773
Oregon	174,768
Nevada	62,264
Colorado	194,827
Florida	269,493

Plus more than the population of Idaho Territory

35,073
2,381,394

Thus adding a hardy, intelligent, industrious and patriotic population to the States in which these homesteads were located, enhancing greatly the value of the lands of those States, enlarging their productive industries, and thus increasing the wealth and power of the States and nation to a degree immeasurably greater than the value of the lands to the Government when thus donated.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

That when the industrial classes are well paid for their services, comfort and prosperity follow!

CLEVELAND.

The Peer of Sammy Tilden as a Railroad Wrecker.

A Chicago Tribune editorial of recent date says: Grover Cleveland is posing as the candidate of cleanness, of honesty. How clean he is has already been shown by the exposition of his moral leprosy. Mugwumps of the Curtis and Beecher style concede and condone his dishonesty and fall back upon his conspicuous honesty. The story of the wrecking of the Buffalo & Jamestown Railroad will now call upon them for further conceding and condoning. Cleveland's success in this direction ranks him as the peer of Tilden, himself in railroad wrecking. The road was organized in March, 1872, and Cleveland & Bisell were elected its attorneys. The panic of that year prevented the sale of stock that was expected, and after much argument and persuasion the city of Buffalo subscribed for \$1,000,000 of the stock at par and issued bonds for the money, which it has since been paying at the rate of \$75,000 principal and almost as much interest yearly, with ten years yet to run. The road was then bonded for \$250,000 and the contractors and officers were heavy purchasers of the bonds. It was expended for business in 1875, and although the company had realized nearly \$1,000,000 from the sale of stock and bonds, it defaulted on the payment of interest on its bonds in 1876. Foreclosure was at once begun and simultaneously the wrecking of the road took place.

In this procedure the schedule of bondholders show that Cleveland & Bisell held \$20,000 of mortgage bonds, and it is matter of record that they were solicitors for the sale of stocks and bonds, the owners of bonds and the manipulators of the scheme by which the bondholders captured the road. The firm of Cleveland & Bisell managed the proceedings by which \$1,000,000 of stock held by the city of Buffalo and \$1,000,000 held by others was completely wiped out. They were the legal representatives of the wreckers, and they got their share of the plunder.

It may be that the Pharisees will condone the acts of dishonesty as they did his act of dishonesty, and that they will take high moral ground, that as an unchaste life does not disqualify a man from holding the presidential office, so dishonesty should not; and as both his dishonesty and unchastity were practiced eight years ago, when Cleveland was forty-eight years of age, we shall hear them declaring that his defrauding of the city of Buffalo, like the outrage committed upon Maria Halpin, was one of the "hans of his youth," when he was sowing his wild oats. In view of the facts of the case, however, people who are truly good will not take this view of it, and will be apt to suggest that the man who is thus unchaste and dishonest is unfit to be a President.

this argument merely, that the American people don't know what is good for them, and were actually better off forty years ago under Free Trade, when there were no more manufacturers than there are now. Suppose that is so. Is it a good thing to go back to that old system now passed away? Could you get back to it if you were to try? Suppose you could prove, by all the wise men in Christendom, that as a matter of fact the Southern cottons were actually happier in old slavery times than they ever have been since—would you recommend the restoration of slavery? Is it the part of statesmanship to go back to Free Trade after twenty-three years of operation under the protective system? To abolish protection now, after all these years, when it has become the corner-stone of our industrial and economic systems, seems to me as absurd as would be the conduct of a railroad engineer who should refuse to operate his line through a completed tunnel because upon re-examination, he believed that it would have been cheaper originally to have gone around the hill. It is admitted by Democrats that there are at least 700,000 adults employed in what they choose to call the protected occupations. Now these 700,000 adults must have dependent upon them on an average five persons each, making an aggregate of 3,500,000. Mind, I do not admit the number is as low as that. On the contrary, the census shows it to be six times that number; and I go farther and claim that the protective system extends to all labor and productions, and that 20,000,000 would be nearer the mark. But what do the Democrats intend to do with the 3,500,000 people who, by their own confession, depend upon the protected occupations for a living? Are they to turn farmers, or must they go to Europe or Australia? If they stay in this country, that they must go upon the land and become agriculturists, no one can dispute. But what will they raise? Cotton can't be grown out of the cotton belt. And if any fact is well settled, it is that Northerners, at least those who have political opinions, and most of them do, are not apt to lead a very agreeable life in that part of our country, thanks to Democratic influences. Are they to go into corn and bacon raising? That market is growing more limited every year. The surely don't want any more breadstuffs. At the present price of wheat, that branch of production certainly cannot offer much inducement for them. Most they go South and hire out as field-hands in competition with black labor? Stranger things might happen. If the "Colonial system" is restored through the revival of Free Trade in this country, and 700,000 laborers are thrown out of employment, why may not the cotton planter of the Solid South expect to replace the colored and discharged workmen from Northern mills, mines and factories. There are 3,500,000 people to be turned adrift, and several thousand millions of dollars of invested capital uprooted and destroyed on a construction of the constitution. It is unconstitutional, so they say, to protect, just as they used to say that it was unconstitutional to fight for the Union. And being unconstitutional, American wool must be brought down to Australian prices, and American industry perish to make room for English. That is the position of the Democratic party.

England is Thinking for Herself Alone.

I do not accuse the English merchant or manufacturer of hypocrisy in endeavoring to convince the country that we will gain by Free Trade. They are simply doing what we are all doing, in trying to make the best bargain for themselves, possible. They are not our legal guardians, and not bound to protect our interests before their own. They naturally expect us to think for ourselves. Again, I am not surprised to find an Englishman in this country, knowing as he does how his own country is prospering under Free Trade, falling into the error of thinking that a similar policy would be good for us. But I ask him to note the different conditions, and what superior advantages England has over all other countries for manufactures. Let them remember how secure England was of her own market before she ventured to throw aside protection. Let him observe the admitted fact that England's doors have been thrown open to food and raw material because by that course she rendered her manufacturing interests more secure.

France Protects Her Labor And Is Rich.

But I fear that I must have taxed your patience by dwelling so long upon national poverty, and perhaps made you think that all countries are poor except Great Britain. But this is not true. There are other well-to-do countries on the earth besides her. But I want you not to look for them in nations that have been throwing their markets open to let in what is called Free Trade, for if you do you will be disappointed. All such have had their earnings swamped out of them, and they have gone to swell British wealth, to enable English lords to hold in velvet jackets over two-guinea breakfasts, and to put the price of plovers' eggs and grouse shooting up. When I look around for a rich nation out of England my eyes turn instinctively to France—not a Free Trading, but a strict protectionist country, and the richest country on the globe, that has made its money by honest labor and the genuine productive industry of its own people! Has anyone forgotten how she amazed the world by the rapidity and ease with which she paid off the German war indemnity a few years ago? France is, and always has been a strictly protective State. French statesmen know that both parties don't make money swapping jack-knives. They know that one side or the other must lose, and they take care that it shall not be France. France protects home industries and has grown rich by it.

Germany Protects and is Getting Rich.

Germany, during the ages of her disunion and weakness, was unable to protect, and was kept in poverty. Now she is united and strong, being the dominant power of the continent. She has just entered upon a protective policy, the effects of which are already apparent in increased prosperity. She is holding the German market for Germany, and will soon be as rich as France.

James G. Blaine, the Great Statesman and Protectionist.

If I have proved anything by my remarks this evening, I have proved that it is in the interest of the American people that the American market be preserved, as far as possible, for the sale of American productions. And that we should be insane to allow ourselves to be ejected into surrendering that market to Europe, or into pooling with the "humanitarian" and "benevolent" sentimentalists, such as "brotherly love," or universal peace, or

"human progress," or any such Free Trade "flapdoodle." If protection is necessary to the prosperity of our people, then the Government must be committed to the charge of the party which favors that system, and, above all things, common sense teaches us that we should elect a chief magistrate who is in accord with the system the people demand. James G. Blaine, more than any other statesman living or dead has shown his sympathy with the great masses of the American nation. It was his acute and penetrating intellect that went at once, as it by instinct, to the very bottom of the Chinese question. That master mind saw at a glance what it took many of the brightest minds of our own coast twenty years to understand—that the California view of that question was the side of humanity and right. He was in that instance, as in his whole career, a protectionist of America and the American people. With the courage of his convictions he defied the narrow and provincial sentiment of New England—his own home—and seemed to court political destruction in his defense of the right. To James G. Blaine's heroic attitude more than to any other man do we owe our deliverance from that great evil. California has had a champion in Mr. Blaine, and to forget him now would show this coast unworthy of having a champion. It would be a disgrace to us that would be irreparable should he not have our electoral vote. But it is not upon past service alone that we support him. It is what he can still do for us and the nation. The Republican party, largely under the leadership of Mr. Blaine, has given the American policy to the country and is pledged to defend it against all attack, whether moral or physical, whether it comes in the shape of Cobden Tracts or Armstrong guns. The Republican party, if it has control of this Government, will not surrender the American producer to his enemies so long as steel is sharp or powder burns. And by the help of God and with Blaine for President and Mr. Morrow and Mr. Felt for Congressmen, with a Republican majority at his back, the American policy will be sustained against all Powers of the earth, let them come in any form they please.

CONDITION OF UNPROTECTED LABOR IN EUROPE.

Condition of Labor in England—What Representative Kelley Saw in 1883—Testimony of the London Congregational Union.

The condition of the American workmen is one of remarkable ease, prosperity and contentment, compared with that of the workmen of Europe, as is easily shown. The condition of the former is patent to us all. Well-dressed, well-fed, well-housed, well-paid, possessing an equal chance with all others for an education and advancement in every walk of life, his conditions and surroundings are such that he may make of himself anything that courage, ambition, will, education and natural endowments may fit him for—as demonstrated by the careers of Lincoln, Garfield, and many another shining exemplar. But glance at the condition of the European laborer and what do we find?

Representative Kelley, of Pennsylvania, recently travelled extensively in Europe with his daughter, Miss Kelley. Together they visited manufacturing towns in England, and their observations of the condition of labor in England being of recent date are the more interesting. In his speech in the House, April 15, 1884, Mr. Kelley said of the poor of England:

The Poor of London as Badly Conditioned as the Sans Culottes of France.

"It did not surprise me to learn that distinguished prelates of the Established Church had, in a church congress, warned those to whom they had a right to speak with authority that the condition of the poor of England, as they had found it upon personal inspection, within a short distance from the palaces of the Queen and of the Prince of Wales, was as bad as that of the French *Sans Culottes* in the years immediately preceding the sanguinary revolution of 1793.

A Family of Nine Living in a Cellar Near Bloomsbury Square no Larger Than the Area of Six Church-Pews.

"A dissenting clergyman, the eloquent and devoted pastor of Bloomsbury Chapel, which stands but a few hundred feet from Bloomsbury Square and the solid middle-class mansions around it, said to his congregation that he had found but a short distance from the pulpit from which he spoke, a family of nine, including father, mother, sons and daughters, who occupied a cellar not larger than the space marked by six of the pews his hearers occupied. 'This was not,' he said, 'a peculiar case, but one of many thousands.'

Another Wretched Family Near Westminster—A Full-Grown Girl Debauched by Vermin.

"Within a week we have read, at least those who watch the papers for such indications of the condition of the British people, of a family found by the coroner near Westminster's grand old abbey, and in one of the most aristocratic quarters of London, in a cellar without a window, one member of which, a girl of full age, had just died, but whose flesh had been largely consumed by vermin before death came to her relief. These are said to be familiar chapters in the lives of tens of thousands who, though able and willing to work, can find no place among the wage-earners of free-trade England, who our Democratic friends present as a national exemplar from whom they would

have us accept as indisputable truths dogmas, the prevalence of which has produced in that country these terrible results.

Trace-Chains Made by English Women at 25 Cents Per Day Minus the Cost of Fuel and Forge and Rods.

"Yes," I think I hear some of you reply to me, 'you studied the poverty of London, which is, we are ready to admit, unparalleled.' No; I spent ten days, unknown to everybody but my daughter, who was my companion, in Birmingham, and in visiting the manufacturing towns around that rich and beautiful city. We visited so much of the over-crowded precincts of the city itself as a lady might ride into, and, in charge of a policeman, I went beyond these limits. Our visits embraced Halesowen, Lye, Lye-Waste, and Cradley, where we found women making nails, trace-chains, heavy fire-bricks, and galvanized hollow-ware. I observe among those who do me the honor to be present, my friend from Kentucky (Mr. TURNER), who comes to each succeeding Congress on the doctrine of free trade-chains, a bill to transfer which article to the free list he never fails to introduce. The introduction of the bill does nobody any harm, and I shall continue to welcome him as long as I shall be returned and a Democrat comes from that district.

"Mr. TURNER, of Kentucky. I never weary of well-doing, and I hope that after awhile you will grant us that reasonable request."

"Mr. KELLEY. Oh, yes; you ought to have free trace-chains, for we learned that the women who make them, if they are quick and good hands, can realize 25 cents a day. [Applause on the Republican side]. And all that they have to pay out of their weekly wage of 6s. 1s. 6d. for the forge and fuel, and another 6d. for having the rods out of which to make the chains brought to the forge. Free trace chains! God forbid that any Kentucky girl or woman should ever work at such unwomanly employment for such starvation wages, even though it be to furnish free trace-chains to my friend and his constituents. [Applause.]

The Forges of Halesowen—Two Nail-Makers Earn \$1.25 Between Them in a Week—Women Brick-Makers at \$1.50 a Week.

"In one of the smallest and dingiest of the forges of Halesowen we found two men at work making light nails, such as girls are put to making when at fourteen years of age the British law will allow them to leave school and enter upon their lives of unwomanly toil. One of these men was a cripple, and the other was evidently suffering from pulmonary disease. One of them, by expending his force for full time, could earn 3s. per week, and the other 4s., from each of which sums are deducted weekly 1s. for fuel and furnace rent so that at the close of the week they had as a net result of their joint toil, \$1.25. In the villages I have named, all of which are appendages of Birmingham, we also saw English girls and women making large fire-bricks, one carrying against her breast or stomach heavy lumps of wet clay, out of which her co-worker, it may be her sister or mother, molded the immense bricks which she, who had brought the clay, carried to a heated space near to where she was to pick up her next load of wet clay. Why, you ask, do these girls engage in such work? The answer is a simple one; they prefer to make bricks because they can make 6s., or a dollar and a half, net, per week, while their sisters who make nails or chains cannot assuredly earn so much, and are, as I have said, subject to a charge of 1s. 6d. per week for fuel and rent of forge."

The Deadly Galvanizing Rooms of Cradley—Girl Galvanizers at \$1.75 Per Week.

"The chief specialties of Cradley are chains and hollow-ware. There we saw girls galvanizing stew-pans, boilers, bath-tubs and other articles of like nature. The desperate struggle for life imposed on British toilers by cheap goods and low wages is well illustrated at Cradley. The assured receipt of \$1.50 a week will tempt women from the nail or chain-maker's forge to the brick-shed. The pay of a galvanizer is \$1.75 per week; and for this additional shilling, girls will pass the forge and the brick-shed to engage in galvanizing room, although the strongest of them know that in less than six months the gases generated by the process will vitally impair their health."

The Villages Around Birmingham.—Lye, Lye-Waste, and Cradley.

"In this connection I submit a brief extract from one of Miss Kelley's published letters:

"It is characteristic of the neighborhood of Birmingham that each village has one industry; thus nailers and chainmakers are as thoroughly separated as though their work differed radically and separation were needed. But the difference between Lye-Waste and Cradley is slight. There are the same forges, the same hovels, the same dusty roads, and the same industrious people. To tell the story of the chainmakers whom we watched at their forges, is merely to repeat the picture of 'Stocking Lane,' and this I have no wish to do. Here and there, however, the forges are interspersed with factories and 'works,' and the facts as to these works illustrate some of the evils to which the nailers eagerly fly in their efforts to escape from their peculiar slavery."

"In one establishment we were shown young women at work on galvanizing pans, and our guide (who had come over from Lye-Waste for a benefit) observed privately concerning them, 'They'm flyin' from nailin', and they thinks it's a fine thing to get seven

shillings' a week. But they gets poorly, an then they gets sick, and then their parents has to keep 'em, and they don't earn nothin' for a long time till they'm well again.' This we were prepared to believe, for we found difficulty in breathing in the first room to which an intelligent foreman showed us. This was a large, dusky room with a high ceiling and arrangements for ventilation with which we could find no fault. But in the middle of the room stood a seething cauldron of a steaming fluid. Back of this stood a man dipping pulis in the cauldron and handing them to young girls, who swiftly rolled each pulis in a heap of sawdust, then delfly brushed the fluid over the metal surface, assuring an equal coating to every part. A few moments of breathing the fumes from the cauldron made our retreat to the sultry outdoor air very refreshing, and sufficed to convince us of the unwholesome nature of this work, even before we noticed long rows of cabs of viril which furnish one ingredient of the galvanizing fluid. The inspection is severe, observed the foreman. 'The works are closely watched, and if a girl works a half-hour over time we're brought up roundly. Its very unwholesome work.'

"This brief extract will convince you that I do not speak of things of which I have merely read. No, gentlemen, I speak of incidents that I saw and with people with whom and whose employers I conversed. Sir, I do not want American goods to become so cheap that as my distinguished friend, the chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means (Mr. MORRISON), said we can sell to other people. God forbid that American labor shall ever be embodied in any production that shall be cheap enough to be sold at Halesowen, Lye, Lye-Waste, Cradley, and other manufacturing villages that surround Birmingham. (Applause.)

30,000 Cripple Children Untaught.—Families Crowded into Cramped Sleeping Rooms.

"It will hardly be regarded as possible that other classes of British laborers are housed with less consideration than the facts I have presented indicate, but the London *Echo* of Monday, October 8, 1883, says: 'The paper read by Mr. George Smith of Coalville, before the Social Science Congress, on Saturday, gives a lamentable account of the condition of large numbers of casual children. Mr. Smith tells us that there are close upon 30,000 of these children of school age who never enter a school. Many of the cabins in which they live are so small that a man can neither stand upright, nor lie out straight on the bed on which he and his wife and his children have to lie—'

"A house in any of the villages referred to, as small or smaller than these, of similar construction, with three rooms, the lower one a living-room, parlor, kitchen, and sitting-room, with broken stone floor, and chambers above, furnished sleeping accommodations to the parents, the sons and daughters, and their children, all of whom are thus crowded into two little sleeping-rooms."

"Yet it is of these sets of three apartments, contracted, dark, unlighted, and unventilated, that those apostles of falsehood, Professors Sumner of Yale, and Perry of Williams College, speak when they compare their rental with that of the homes of American artisans to prove the superior condition of the working people of Great Britain to that of those of the United States."

The Terrible Mysteries and Murders of London—British Statements.

Representative Chase, of Rhode Island, in his speech on the Morrison Tariff Bill, April, 1884, after stating that there is in England a standing army of 922,000 paupers, and that in London alone there have been as many as 500,000 in a hard season, who have received out-door aid, quotes from a pamphlet called "Outcast London," published in the fall of 1883, by the Congregational Union in London. That pamphlet says of these miserable people:

"Two cautions it is important to bear in mind. First, the information given does not refer to select cases. It simply reveals a state of things which is found in houses after houses, court after court, street after street. Secondly, there has been absolutely no exaggeration. It is a plain recital of plain facts. Indeed, no respectable printer would print, and certainly no decent family would admit even the driest statement of the horrors and infamies discovered in one brief visitation from house to house. So far from making the worst of our facts for the purpose of appealing to emotion, we have been compelled to tone down everything, and wholly to omit what most needs to be known, or the ears of our readers would have been insufferably outraged."

The Condition in Which They Live.

"We do not say the condition of their homes, for how can those places be called homes, compared with the lair of a wild beast would be a comfortable and healthy spot? Few who read these pages have any conception of what these pestilential human rookeries are, where tens of thousands are crowded together amidst horrors which call to mind what we have heard of the middle passage of the slave-ship. To get into them you have to penetrate courts reeking with poisonous and maddening gases arising from all accumulations of sewage and refuse scattered in all directions and often flowing beneath your feet; courts, many of them which the sun never penetrates, which are never relieved by a breath of fresh air, and

[CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE.]

BLAINE ON THE CHINESE.

The Champion of American Labor—Extracts from His Great Speech.

On the 14th day of February, 1879, when the bill introduced by Senator Sargent excluding Chinese from the United States was before the United States Senate, Mr. Blaine said:

"Ought we to exclude the Chinese? The question runs in my mind thus: Either the Anglo-Saxon race will possess the Pacific Slope or the Mongolians will possess it. You give them the start to-day, with the keen thrust of necessity behind them, and with the inducements to come while we are filling up the other portions of the Continent, and it is inevitable, if not demonstrable, that they will occupy that great space of country between the Sierras and the Pacific Coast.

"The immigrants that come to us from the British Isles, and from all portions of Europe, come here with the idea of the family as much engraven on their minds and hearts, and in customs and habits, as we ourselves have. The Asiatic cannot go on with our population and make a homogeneous element.

"The Chinese have no regard for the family; they do not recognize the relation of husband and wife; they do not observe the tie of parent and child, and they have not in the slightest degree the ennobling and civilizing influences of the hearthstone and fire-side.

"I am opposed to the Chinese coming here, I am opposed to making them citizens. I am unalterably opposed to making them voters. There is not a peasant cottage inhabited by a Chinaman. There is not a hearthstone, in the sense we understand it, of an American home, or an English home, or an Irish or German or French home. There is not a domestic fire-side in that sense, and yet you say it is entirely safe to sit down and permit them to fill up our country, or any part of it.

"Treat them like Christians, say those who favor their immigration, and yet I believe the Christian testimony is that the conversion of Chinese on that basis is a fearful failure; that the demoralization of the white is much more rapid by reason of the contact than is the salvation of the Chinese race, and up to this time there is not an authentic case of a Chinese conversion.

"I have heard a good deal of their cheap labor. I do not believe in cheap labor. I do not believe that cheap labor should be the object of legislation, and it will not be in a republic. I undertake to repeat that I say that you cannot permit the wealthy classes in a republic where suffrage is universal to legislate in the interest of what is called cheap labor.

"Labor should not be cheap. It should have its share, and it will have its share. There is not a laborer on the Pacific Coast to-day who does not feel wounded, and grieved, and crushed by the competition that comes from this source. It is servile labor; it is not free labor, such as we intend to develop and encourage and build up in this country. It is labor that comes here under a mortgage. It is labor that comes here to subsist on what the American laborer cannot subsist on. You cannot work a man, who must have beef and bread, and would prefer beef, alongside of a man who can live on rice. It cannot be done. In all such conflicts, and in all such struggles, the result is not to bring up the man who lives on rice to the beef and bread standard, but it is to bring down the beef and bread man to the rice standard.

"Slave labor degraded free labor. It took out its respectability, and it put an odious cast upon it. It throttled the prosperity of a fine and fair portion of the United States in the South, and this Chinese, which is worse than slave labor, will throttle and impair the prosperity of a still finer and fairer section of the Union, on the Pacific Coast.

We can choose to-day whether our legislation shall be in the interest of the American free labor, or for the servile labor from China. The question we have to regard is whether, on the whole, we will devote that interesting and important section of the United States, that land of the vine and orange, inexhaustible in resources and matchless in climate, to be the hour and refuge of our own people and our own blood, or whether we will continue to leave it open, not to the competition of other nations like ourselves, but to those who degraded themselves and will inevitably degrade us.

"We have this day to choose whether we will have for the Pacific Coast, the civilization of Christ or the civilization of Confucius."

SIMON CAMERON SURE OF VICTORY.

The oldest guest at the Hoffman House, New York, recently, was ex-Senator Simon Cameron. But age seems to have no effect upon either the mental or physical vigor of the veteran statesman. A Tribune reporter found him taking his lunch on with a party of friends, and not one could tell a brighter story or enjoy more thoroughly a good thing told by some one else at the table than Mr. Cameron. He is now approaching his eighty-sixth year, but looks ten or fifteen years younger. As usual, when at the table he was supplied with Mamm's best brands. For years he has drunk nothing else in the place of wine and that it has agreed with him no one can doubt after a glance at his still stalwart form. Lolling back in his chair in answer to a request that he should talk on politics for a few minutes he said: "You know I take no part in politics now, else I would be glad to give the Tribune my views. But you can say for me that I believe that Mr. Blaine will be elected, and that I hope he will. Of course you know he will get the vote of Pennsylvania. I can't say how large a majority the State will give him, but it generally gives a large one when called on, and Mr. Blaine will get it. There are no differences in the Republican party of Pennsylvania. We are all Republicans and will vote the Republican ticket. The only part that I will take in politics this fall will be to vote."

"What, talking politics, General," exclaimed Captain Gillis, of the Navy, who was one of the party.

"Merely telling my friend of the Tribune," replied Mr. Cameron, "that Pennsylvania will give Mr. Blaine the usual majority, and that I believe and hope that Mr. Blaine will be elected as our next President."

I KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

That as long as the "Solid South" remains unbroken, so long there will be a free and determined North!

HANNIBAL HAMLIN ON BLAINE.

The venerable and patriotic Hannibal Hamlin of Maine, who was elected Vice-President with Abraham Lincoln as President, spoke at Cleveland, Ohio, the other evening, and among other things said: "I know James G. Blaine from the top of his head to the sole of his feet. I have been in close personal and political association with him for thirty long years, and I am here to tell you upon my responsibility for integrity—which I prize higher than anything on this earth—that he is a Christian gentleman in every sense of the word (applause). Thirty years of personal, intimate acquaintance and association with him leads me to know what I am saying. The opinions of James G. Blaine upon every question affecting the interests of our industries, affecting the character of our labor, of the industries of our Government and its foreign relations, have been stated so clearly and so distinctly in his letter of acceptance that they are known to all the world—a letter, mark you, so able and so distinct that the criticism of the press and the higher criticism of that hypocrite, Carl Schurz, have not succeeded in staining it."

A PASSAGE in Blaine's Rochester speech should be impressed upon the mind of every voter. The Plumed Knight thus concisely stated the platform of the Republican Party:

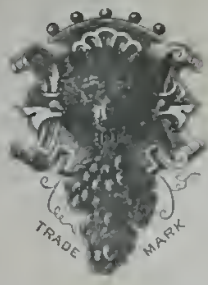
"The Republican Party embodies in its creed four distinct and important doctrines: First, peace with the whole world; second, commercial expansion in every practicable direction; third, the encouragement of every form of American industry; fourth, protection of every citizen, native or naturalized, at home or abroad."

BLAINE said in a speech to the coal miners, in Hocking Valley, recently: "I have had twenty-nine years experience in connection with the coal industry, and I count it a piece of remarkable good fortune that neither myself, nor any of the companies with which I have been connected, has ever had a strike, or dispute, or quarrel of any kind with any man. ('Good! Good!' and cheers.) Further, I have to say that, during the last eighteen months, the company I am connected with has been able to pay an average of \$60 a month to every one of the 200 men engaged."

In his letter of acceptance, Mr. Cleveland entirely ignores the question of free trade and protection.

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Orders for any of our pure California Wines will be carefully and promptly filled.

FINE TABLE WINES A SPECIALTY

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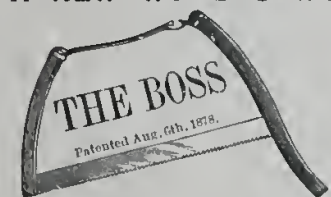
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SAN FRANCISCO.

A NEW WOOD SAW!



THE LATEST, THE BEST.

The above illustration shows an AUTOMATIC SELF-STRAINING WOOD SAW FRAME. The saw is strained by means of a Steel Spring secured to the wood end pieces with Metal Bands. With this device a saw is perfectly and automatically strained at all times. No cross bars or braces are required to give stiffness to the frame. The space in wood saw frames usually filled up with such devices is left open, giving the saw greater capacity for sawing large slices of wood, wide planks or boards. There is no screw straining rod to get out of order.

Price, complete with Pacific Saw Mfg. Co.'s Extra Quality Blade, set and filed, ready to work, each, \$1.50; with their second quality blade, set and filed, ready to work, \$1.25; with imported blade, set and filed, ready to work, \$1.00.

A LIBERAL DISCOUNT TO THE TRADE.

AGENTS FOR C. B. PAUL'S CELEBRATED FILES.

Planing Knives, Currier Knives, Saw Mandrels, and Saws of Every Description Made to Order.

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FIRE ONLY!

PRINCIPAL OFFICE:

No. 216 Sansome Street, San Francisco.

Capital, paid up, Gold, - - \$300,000 00

Premium since organization, \$4,155,239 10
 Losses, since organization, - - \$1,859,286 84
 Assets, Jan. 1, 1883, - - \$717,156 63
 Surplus for Policy Holders, - - 710,880 83
 Reinsurance Reserve, - - 172,898 50
 Net Surplus Over Everything, - 237,982 13

OFFICERS:

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 J. L. N. SHEPARD.....Vice-President.
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STALL FED!

To Housekeepers!

F. I. ADRIAN,

Stalls 5 and 6 California Market,

Respectfully invites the attention of housekeepers and others to his exceptionally fine stock of

Choice Meats,

Among which are always to be found the following

SPECIALTIES:

American Stall-fed Beef,

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First Quality Mutton and Lamb,

Fine Corned Beef, Etc., Etc.

OUR CUSTOMERS WILL RECEIVE

Prompt Attention, Courteous Treatment, Reasonable Prices, Satisfaction Guaranteed.

Please favor me with a call and you will be satisfied.

Very Respectfully,

F. I. ADRIAN.

Stalls 5 and 6 California Market, California St., S. E. side.

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Manufacturers of the

STANDARD SYRUP,

A SUPERIOR ARTICLE,

Put up in Barrels Expressly for Home Consumption.

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REFINED SUGARS,

At Lowest Market Rates.

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Capital, paid in full, - \$200,000.00

Assets, Jan. 1, 1884, \$436,373.59

Losses Paid Since Company was Organized, \$954,247.44.

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FOOD FOR REFLECTION.

THE GREAT ISSUE.

Protection and not Free Trade the True American Policy. Danger Threatening American Industries from Oriental Competition—Suggestive Facts Concerning the Wheat Market and Wheat Production.

I am a farmer, and have this year harvested an abundant crop, but, like many other farmers of this State and other States, find the wheat we have raised does not command a price that will return to us on the cost of the seed, feed and the labor, at the present wages, of raising and bringing wheat to market.

To find out the cause of this state of things, and to ascertain if we are to have in the future a continuance of this misfortune, I will look to such statistics and general facts as have come into my possession.

The following table, compiled from information in the office of the Secretary of State of the United States, shows the average production, export and import of wheat in the following countries in the year 1883:

COUNTRIES.	Yield, Bushels.	Exports, Bushels.	Imports, Bu. Inds.
Russia.....	214,000,000	71,000,000	
Sweden.....	3,452,000		990,000
Norway.....	2,000,000		720,000
Denmark.....	4,700,000	910,000	1,400,000
Germany.....	92,820,000	5,300,000	26,000,000
Holland.....		8,000,000	10,500,000
Belgium.....	24,000,000		10,000,000
Great Britain.....	81,000,000		10,000,000
Canada.....	291,220,000	6,000,000	
Spain.....	170,000,000		8,000,000
Italy.....	141,000,000		5,000,000
Austria.....		10,000,000	
Romania.....	25,000,000	11,000,000	
Croatia.....		3,250,000	
Sardinia.....	240,000,000	30,000,000	
Algeria.....	44,000,000	3,000,000	
Australasia.....	35,000,000	18,000,000	
Chile.....		5,000,000	
United States, '84.....	5,000,000,000		

The most striking fact which presents itself is, that Great Britain, whose Free Trade doctrine has been sucked in as mother's milk by a very large portion of American farmers, has systematically sought to become entirely independent of the United States, by her most extraordinary exertions to develop wheat culture in all her colonies.

The East Indian Record.

Thus Great Britain has expended \$370,000,000 in the construction of railroads in India, of which \$360,000,000 was raised in England. There have been constructed 11,025 miles of railroad, and projected 8,975 miles more. Those railroads employ in their operation 180,000 natives and 3,995 Europeans. (Please observe that fact.)

A much larger amount has been expended in canals for navigation and irrigation. One of the canals is 502 miles long, and will irrigate 780,000 acres, through 2,500 miles of minor channels. By these means, and the introduction of the most approved agricultural implements, the productive capacity of India has been raised, and its exports have increased from 2,000,000 bushels in 1870, 7,000,000 in 1881, 14,000,000 in 1882, to 30,000,000 bushels in 1883.

Was there such an array of alarming increase over before presented to American farmers? The East India area for the production of wheat is now 20,000,000 acres, and there are 56,000,000 acres of jungle now in process of clearing, which, when cleared, becomes good wheat and cotton land. It follows that India's capacity for wheat or cotton-growing is only one-third developed. How about Australia and the other neighboring colonies and the islands in the adjacent seas? How will it be when the same race goes into the wilds of Africa, as they are now doing, and on the fertile lands described by Livingstone, place the best agricultural implements in the hands of the natives, and give them British overseers?

Now, the agricultural laborers of Egypt and the India receive wages of between one-fifth and one-tenth of that which we pay to our laborers, and they are supplied with as good farming implements as can be made in Great Britain. British India has a population of 260,000,000, and is about as large as would make thirty States of the size of New York.

Free Trade Customs.

John F. Swift, who has recently returned from India, says: "A native woman's dress consists of the 'saree.' This is five yards of cloth without a stitch in it. If the woman is married, there is a red stripe, about half an inch wide, around the edge of the 'saree.' The cloth is first wound around the waist and falls to the ankles. Then it is thrown up over the shoulder, and the same garment makes a head-dress. The men are dressed on an empty plan."

As naked a condition exists in Egypt. "Cheap labor and the wonderful fertility of the Indian soil apply to the wheat problem. Two crops will grow in a year. Farming courses in such a country only cause the poor, and the poor are too numerous to be enough to eat. If the British Government should issue the command to raise wheat, England is at once independent of the American crop."

Now with labor so far below that which we pay, what is the future outlook in the direction of the East Indies, Australia, Van Diemen's Land, Africa, Russia, Austria, Roumania, Chile, etc.? Must we come down to the wearing of the Democratic "saree," or must we protect ourselves?

The New Condition.

A new state of things has suddenly been opened before us. Eight hundred millions of frugal, industrious and cheap working laborers are being brought into competition with our laborers. Here-

tofore we only had to protect ourselves against the low-priced laborers of Europe, if less than half that number. But now China, Japan, the British Indies, and all the islands of the Pacific, are entering the field of agriculture and manufactures. A competition in the province of labor of more than twice the entire white race in present existence.

We feel already the increased amount of wheat from the British colonies has been sufficient to break the market to a price below our present ability to raise wheat.

The Chinese as Factory Laborers.

Now let us look at what is being done in the manufacturing line to destroy us. Every person who has been in, or is now living in California, provided he is endowed with the usual live senses, with the additional common sense, should know that Chinamen arrive in this State with but little knowledge of our language, customs or modes of work—that they learn to speak English, and learn to work at nearly all the trades, and in many months as it has taken years for American men and women to learn them. Thus, in three months they become cooks, and now number the majority of hotel cooks in the States of California, Nevada, Oregon and the Territory of Washington, having taken the place of women and men cooks of our complexion.

The same condition of things exists in regard to laundry work, and women have lost this occupation. The greatest number of tailors in the mines, or in our factories of wool, cotton, leather, tin, and every industry, requiring manual hands, are Chinamen. The largest number of men engaged in shoe-making, shirt-making, cloth-making, broom-making and everything made by sewing-machines, even to the underwearer of women, are Chinamen.

They raise, harvest and can, nearly all the fruit that is consumed, and they are the greatest number of our gardeners. There is scarcely a trade, occupation or manufacture known among us in which they are not sufficiently expert to displace white laborers. They act as bankers, insurance men, merchants, mechanics, laborers, fishermen, miners, gardeners, farmers, firemen, sailors, and in almost every capacity that white men or women can act. Their ability to imitate almost amounts to a genius, while their ability to deceive has never had a parallel.

The Magnitude of the Curse Not Yet Understood.

Although they, who have eyes, see Chinamen in every workshop, and in every field of industry, and they who have ears, hear the sound of their rapid and never-repeating labor; and they who have noses, smell their opium-saturated breath in every factory, place of labor in the State; and they who act, taste their leprosy, and see the coming of the plague from the kitchen of almost every hotel or boarding-house; and they who have feeling, revolt at the daily contact with the wretches who have brought down the dignity and honor of labor to a disgraceful level. Yet such men as Beecher have no more appreciation of the curse than they have of the future hell awaiting each one of them. They cannot see the hell of a future we are now plunging into, where in 500,000,000 of yellow skins are to intermingle in trade, commerce and social life, with 350,000,000 of white skins.

The Erection of Factories in the Seaport Towns of China.

Now we know that at this time the arts and manufactures learned in America and other countries, are being introduced into their own country, where they can work men at wages less than twenty cents a day. The Chinese Empire contains between 350,000,000 and 450,000,000, variously estimated—but quite equal in number to the white population of the world. It is a positive and an alarming fact that German, English, French and Americans, under the protection of the flags of their country, are now building in every sea-port town in China factories with the most modern and improved machinery for the manufacturing of silk, cotton, woolen, leather and other material into goods suitable for exportation to all parts of the world. It is also a well-established fact that China has mines of coal, iron, copper and other metals to as great an extent as any other country. Now with coal in abundance, with wages that average less than twenty cents a day, among a people who can crowd us out of our own manufactures, establish factories in the very State we ourselves own and live in, what future marvels will be wrought by them?

Let us not shut our eyes against painful truths. We have already been deceived. But a few years since we welcomed the stork-looking Chinaman as a harmless accession to our population, a thing to regard with indifference, and we have now found ourselves and our children, and the standard of labor they adopt in our factories.

French and English gun-makers work temporary destruction, but every gun only opens a new exit for the bees to swarm where there can be found the most profit.

As attorneys say, let us make a hypothetical exhibit. You are a manufacturer and require for the making of your goods many hands. You, as another manufacturer, engage in the business for the purpose of making money, not from patriotic motives. Now, will you make in the hereafter, your plant in the Eastern, Southern or Western States? For, in all these labor is from one to two dollars per day—or, will you make it in China, Japan or the British Indies, where labor is less than twenty cents per day, and where coal and iron will soon be cheaper than it is in the United States?

Precisely as you would do, is now being done by others, and when these factories are in full operation, and their products are sold in the cities of Europe and the United States, there will exist a cry for protection such as only poverty and starvation can give.

Doctors, But Not Consumers.

The Chinese are wonderful in their ability to adapt and excel in every line where there is a profit, but they are unchangeable in their dress, manner of eating, their habits and religion. Thus the Chinaman of twenty years' residence of California is the same in these things as if he arrived yesterday. Therefore, with their prosperity, it is idle to talk of their making a market for European goods. On the other hand, China, Japan and the British Indies will export to us, grain, fruit, cotton and other products of the cultivation of the soil. They will also send their manufactured cotton, wool, silk, jute and metals to every country now supplied by England, France or the United States.

Why should they not? History tells us that nations are more migratory than manufactures. They had their abode once among the natives of Asia and Africa, but found their perfection in

Europe and America. They have moved from one country to another according as the better facilities are offered. Abundance of coal-labor at one-fourth of the wages of European labor, with a people whose industry, thrift and application has no parallel in the world, will carry the plant of the factories from England, France and the United States to the Pacific Coast of Asia!

It is in the process of fulfillment at this very hour. How little do we comprehend the limits of the storm when we only see the first clouds forming?

The Japanese and their Skillful Works.

Let any of our readers enter one of the Japanese stores, and there carefully examine the workmanship in the different articles they find on the shelves. Take that piece of porcelain—regard its shape, gilding, coloring and marvelous painting. Take in your hand a work in bronze, and examine its wonderful chiseling and engraving of gold, silver, or other metals. Look at the carvings, ivory, wood or marble. See the patient labor bestowed upon rubrics of silk and gold. Now do these not show a capability, which, when properly directed, will make them good artisans and mechanics? Do they lack any thing but cultivated taste with proper machinery to become rivals in French manufactures? Suppose the English, French and Germans furnish the machinery, and give to them the models, they being wonderful creatures of imitation, what is to prevent them from becoming successful manufacturers? Japan has as much coal, iron, copper and tin, as Scotland and England have, and contains a population of thirty-five millions who can, and do work for one-fourth the wages paid in Great Britain.

What a Protective Tariff Does for the Laborer.

Why the workers from every part of the world come from their Free Trade birth-places to Protective Tariff United States as seen in the following table is because of the difference in the wages of labor between Free Trade and Protective Tariff countries:

	Mass.	Foreign	Total.
Arrived in 1881.....	400,720	184,792	585,512
Arrived in 1882.....	418,911	200,178	719,089
Arrived in 1883.....	354,803	249,450	604,253
Totals.....	1,273,434	784,299	2,057,733
Making a grand total of.....			2,061,645

See the following average weekly wages paid in Massachusetts and England:

INDUSTRIES	Massachusetts, cents.	Great Britain, cents.
Agricultural implements.....	\$10.25	\$8.85
Artisan's tools.....	11.80	4.80
Boots and shoes.....	11.63	4.37
Brick.....	8.63	4.10
Building trade.....	11.90	7.21
Carriages.....	6.68	4.41
Carriages and wagons.....	13.80	4.80
Clothing.....	10.01	6.71
Cotton goods.....	6.45	4.63
Fish and junk food.....	6.46	2.84
Food preparations.....	9.81	2.72
Furniture.....	11.04	7.06
Glass.....	12.28	6.94
Hats (fur, wool and silk).....	11.01	5.61
Hosiery.....	8.49	4.80
Liquors (malt and distilled).....	12.87	12.66
Machinery and machinery.....	11.75	6.93
Metals and metallic goods.....	11.25	7.40
Printing and publishing.....	11.37	6.62
Printing, dyeing, bleaching and finishing cotton textiles.....	8.67	4.01
Stone.....	14.39	8.68
Woolen goods.....	12.19	6.67
Woolen goods.....	6.99	4.86
Woolen goods.....	7.32	3.60
All industries.....	\$10.31	\$5.86

In 88 industries in Massachusetts and 39 in Great Britain the percentage of wages paid in the former was 75.40 per cent greater than in the latter. To maintain this difference in wages the United States has a Protective Tariff, given to it as a measure for revenue and protection to its manufactures, by the Republican party. To keep wages at the present standard ten years from now, the party then in power will have to make a tariff not only against the cheap labor of Europe, but what will be more important, they will have to make a tariff against the cheap labor of Japan, China and the Indies.

At that time there will be but three countries who will have the Free Trade cry that the Democrats have had for the last half century, and these will be China, Japan and the Indies, for no European country can work at Oriental wages.

The Fate of Dundee.

Do not think that East India competition has only an imaginary existence. Ten years ago the city of Dundee was the most flourishing city in Great Britain. The manufacturing of jute was so profitable and so rapidly increased as rapidly as possible, and in their haste they turned cotton mills to jute mills, so anxious were they to get the profit of the trade. Now many of these mills are idle and jute goods can be laid down in the city of Dundee, which goods were manufactured in Calcutta and shipped at a profit to the shipper. What has occurred with late will occur with cotton and other material.

Principles Pass Away, But the Party Hangs on the Rugged Edge.

"The times were once that, when the brains were out, men were dead." Not so with the party called Democratic. After a Free-Trade cry of half a century, they speak of Protection. "They would not wear the livery of heaven to serve the devil in." And now we find them with a platform which reads, "Down South, free-trade, and up North, protection." A Protective-Tariff Democrat is a knave, who has Whig and Republican doctrine grafted on a free-trade carcass. He has not the honor or nobility to belong to a party whose principles he would steal.

The American Policy.

In view of the future what must be the American policy? Just as laid down by Mr. Blaine—we must build up our own manufactures, people our cities, have a home market for our wheat, and not pay as we have now for a coast-guard a cent per pound of shippers to get our grain to distant places with a foreign competition that ruins us.

Trade does not regard friendship; the lowest price finds the earliest buyers. They who argue that a Protective Tariff will cause a Free Trade buyer to turn aside and pay a higher price to others, know but little of the laws governing trade. Without the Protection of a tariff, no great cities

can exist in the United States, unless the wages of labor be of the same rate as other great cities of the world, and as the advent in the fields of agriculture, trade and manufacture of 800,000,000 of Asiatics is now upon us, we cannot avoid the necessity of putting on the armor of defense. There is nothing inconsistent with our having a home market in our great manufacturing cities for our wheat and cotton, and at the same time to avail ourselves of any demand for these that may occur in foreign countries.

W. M. RYAN, M. D.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

That this is not the year for new experiments! No time now for swapping horses! Stand by the Republican Party that has stood by the country and saved it!

HOW A DEMOCRATIC HOUSE SHOWED ITS HATRED OF THE UNION SOLDIER.

On the 14th day of December, 1875, Mr. Fort, Republican, made an effort to prevent wounded Union soldiers from being set aside by the then Democratic House, and to that end introduced the following:

"Resolved, That in all subordinate appointments under any of the officers of this House, it is the judgment of this House that wounded Union soldiers, who are not disabled from performance of duty, should be preferred."

Upon this he demanded the previous question; but the Confederate element was too strong for him and the House refused to second it!

Thereupon Mr. S. S. Cox offered the following substitute, and moved its reference to the Committee on Accounts:

"Resolved, That inasmuch as the Union of the States has been restored, all the citizens thereof are entitled to consideration in all appointments to offices under this Government."

The vote upon reference to the Committee on Accounts was 168 yeas to 102 nays.

Of those voting, only two Republicans voted for the reference and 100 Republicans voted against it; while only two Democrats voted against the reference to 166 Democrats who voted for it.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

That the Republican Party are pledged to a high protective tariff—and this means good wages for the American labor!

A CURIOUS SORT OF PATRIOTISM.

Mr. Hendricks, in his speech of acceptance, at Saratoga, said that the Democratic Convention was "patriotic in spirit." Hardly, from an American standpoint. There is no patriotism in attempting to excite ill-feeling against any portion of American citizens, or in playing a foreign air peculiarly offensive to them, for the purpose of increasing the irritation excited by contumely and contempt. The candidate said again: "At the same time that I accept the honor from you and the Convention, I feel that the duties and responsibilities of the office rest upon me also." Mr. Hendricks seems to be fond of anticipating. He appeared to forget that the American people must first pass judgment upon the action of the Convention, though later on be seemed to recognize his error by saying, "What shall become of free government if the people select not their own officers?" That is really the point at issue. The people will select their own officers this time, notwithstanding the flat of the Convention, which nominated Mr. Hendricks, and notwithstanding the influences which secured the selection of the head of the ticket.

KEEP IT BEFORE THE PEOPLE.

That it is utterly impossible for American labor to compete with the pauper labor of Europe!

Had not James G. Blaine thrown his powerful influence in favor of the Pacific Coast in its struggle to keep out the hordes of China, the Coolie slaves would to-day be swarming over our land, and coming by the thousands by every steamer, and the white laborer would have to seek some other land or come down to the wages of the rice and rat-eating Coolie. Now the Chinaman is barred, and the Democratic party wants to open wide the doors and let in, free of duty, the products of Coolie labor to compete with American labor. But Blaine again stands in the way, upholding the cause of the workingman against the heresy of free trade.

As exchange says that Cleveland takes his collar off over his head, which saves the trouble of unbuttoning it.

The Democrats tell us that Tilden placed his mantle upon Cleveland. Tammany tells us that the agents of Tilden and the railroad kings run the Convention. All men who know anything about the matter, know that Cleveland fastened ten instead of five cents upon those who wish to ride upon elevated roads, and 16 instead of 12 hours upon the poor railroad employee, and that Tilden and his associates profited by it to the extent of \$100,000. Now put this with the fact that Hendricks voted, when in Congress, for every subsidy granted to railroads during the time he was in Congress, and then draw your conclusions.